THE TOMB OF PRESIDENT BRETON AT SURAT

Front. E.F.VIII.

[Vol. 8]

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1646–1650

A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE INDIA OFFICE, WESTMINSTER

BY

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PREFACE

The present volume, which brings us to the close of the first half-century of the East India Company's history, deals with two hundred and fifty-seven documents. With the exception of one from the British Museum (p. 272), these are all drawn from the India Office archives; about one-half belong to the *Original Correspondence* series of those records, and the rest to the *Factory* or *Marine* series or to the *Letter Books* containing the Company's correspondence with its servants in the East.

Of a considerable proportion of the documents for 1646–47 the real place of origin is the Bombay Record Office. In order that the calendaring might be done from the documents themselves, the Bombay Government were kind enough to send home the first volume of their *Surat Factory Inward Letter Books*, containing contemporary copies of letters received at Surat during that period. These were duly calendared, with the result that some interesting discoveries were made; and the volume was then put on board the *Oceana* for return to Bombay, but only to be lost in the wreck of that vessel. Fortunately, a verbatim transcript had been made of its contents for preservation at the India Office, and it was therefore possible to supply a copy to the Bombay Record Office, to fill in some measure the place of the lost volume. The references given in the following pages are to the India

Office copy (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A), but they will apply equally to that now at Bombay, as the paging is the same in both volumes.

The frontispiece, representing the tomb of President Breton (see p. 275), is from a photograph by Mr. V. M. Mehta of Surat, which was kindly procured for this purpose by Mr. F. G. H. Anderson, I.C.S., Collector of Surat, at the suggestion of Sir William Morison, K.C.S.I.

INTRODUCTION

In 1646—the year with which the present volume begins—the realm of Shāh Jahān was enjoying unusual tranquillity. Since the war of ten years earlier, when the King of Bījāpur had been forced to follow the example of his neighbour of Golconda in acknowledging the suzerainty of the Great Mogul, there had been peace in the Deccan, save for the inroads which the two former monarchs were making upon the crumbling remnants of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. Away on the north-western frontier the empire had been enlarged—only temporarily, as it proved—by the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān; while the Mogul flag still waved above the ramparts of Kandahār, though it was well known that the young King of Persia, Shāh Abbās II, was bent on recovering that fortress before long. In India itself agriculture and industry had recovered from the effects of the dire famine of the early thirties, and the finances of the kingdom, under the management of the new Wazīr, Sadullah Khān, were in a fairly flourishing condition. Important public works were being carried on; the Emperor's great palace-fortress at New Delhi (Shāhjahānābād) was approaching completion; and at Agra the Tāj Mahal was rising fast. Shāh Jahān's sons, whose rivalry was to embitter his later years and finally to oust him from his throne, were as yet obedient to his authority and seemingly devoted to his person. The eldest, Dārā Shikoh, was constantly in attendance upon his father, who evidently intended him to succeed; Shujā, the second, was acting as Viceroy in Bengal; while the third, the famous Aurangzeb, whatever his ambitions, seemed for the present content with the administration of the province of Gujarāt.

It is true that the letters contained in this volume show that there were shadows in the picture which were ignored by the court annalists. We learn, for instance, that alike in Rājpūtāna and Gujarāt large bands of robbers lurked in the hills, and caravans proceeding to the sea-coast were likely to be attacked unless strongly guarded (pp. 129, 193); in Lower Sind the hill tribes gave

much trouble (p. 152); in Gujarāt the Kolīs came plundering almost to the gates of Ahmadābād (p. 58), while the Governor's reprisals only produced additional distress, 'depopulating whole townes of miserably pore people, under pretence of there harbouring theives and rogues (whilst those that are such may walke untoucht at noone day)' (p. 127). From every factory came complaints of the oppressions exercised by the local authorities, alike to Indians and Europeans, and the court officials were equally venal and arbitrary (pp. 121, 253). Further, any failure of the rains, however restricted the area, was followed by famine and loss of life (p. 192). Still, these were features not peculiar to any period of Indian history, nor indeed to India as distinguished from the other countries of Asia; and, remembering the 'most bloody and dismall intestine war' (p. 260) which at this period was desolating the British Isles, one realizes that a comparison between the state of the two countries would not be unreservedly in favour of England.

To resume our chronicle of the doings of the English factors at Surat and elsewhere in the dominions of the Great Mogul. At the close of the last volume we left President Breton and the rest of the Surat council engaged in dispatching to England the ship *Eagle*. She sailed on January 4, 1646, carrying with her the long letter with which the present volume opens. In this the English merchants replied at some length to the complaints received from London regarding the poor quality of the indigo and calicoes sent home in 1643, alleging in excuse that there had been a general decline of late years in the goodness of both commodities. They urged the Company to provide means for discharging their heavy indebtedness, which not only involved the payment of large sums as interest but also placed the factors at a disadvantage in selling their goods, since one of their chief creditors, Vīrjī Vōra, was at the same time an important customer for their coral and expected special consideration therein as the price of forbearance in pressing his claim for repayment of the debt. While they themselves were reduced to the necessity of borrowing at the high rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per month, it was especially mortifying to find their Dutch competitors so abounding in cash that 'they profer monies at interest, so prosperous and flourishing are they in all parts' (p. 21). The Portuguese, too, now that peace had been made with the Dutch, were renewing their

commercial activity, and the Viceroy was busy re-establishing their former monopoly of cinnamon and pepper in the Malabar ports, to the detriment of the English (p. 15). However, Breton and his colleagues had managed to fill the *Eagle* with indigo, piece-goods, saltpetre, pepper, &c., to which they had added a quantity of china brought from Macao by the *Hind*, thinking that, as so much plate had been melted down in England during the Civil War, there would probably be more demand for such substitutes. The *Eagle's* homeward voyage is narrated on p. 22.

After her departure, the President and Council busied themselves with the dispatch of several of their smaller vessels to various Eastern ports. The *Falcon* was sent down the coast to Rājāpur in the middle of January to fetch some goods. A few days later the *Swan* sailed for Bantam. Three vessels, laden mostly with freight goods, were dispatched to Gombroon, and two to Mokha, one of which was to be sold there, while the other was to go on to Suakin, to test the possibilities of establishing trade at that port. On March 21 two more pinnaces, the *Lanneret* and the *Falcon*, were sent to Mokha, whence the latter was to proceed to the Coromandel Coast with a stock of money, while the former was to bring the factors back to Surat at the close of the season. In April the *Hind* was dispatched to the Coromandel Coast; and at the beginning of the following month the *Seahorse* sailed for Achin. That port was reached early in June, and the vessel departed again on October 30, reaching Swally a little before Christmas.

Towards the close of 1645 the *Lanneret* had set out for Gombroon with instructions to proceed from thence to Sūr, on the coast of Omān. This was done in consequence of overtures received from the local ruler; but on arrival it was found to be 'a poor, beggerly place', and moreover a protest from the Governor of Muskat made it clear that the Portuguese resented such an intrusion into a district which they regarded as within their sphere. The vessel therefore departed on February 16 and returned to Swally a month later. The expedition to Suakin was scarcely more successful. After paying a visit to Massowah, the *Francis* reached her destination on April 23, 1646, and after some negotiations Cross, the merchant in charge, came to a satisfactory arrangement with the Governor as to customs and other matters. A few goods were sold at a reasonable

profit; but the chief time of trade was at the end of July, when a great caravan came regularly from the interior, and the vessel could not wait for its arrival. She sailed on July 18 and, after calling at Mokha, reached Swally in the middle of September.

Mention has already been made of the dispatch of the *Supply* to Manilla in April, 1645, for the purpose of fetching away the goods and merchants left there by the *Seahorse*. After some delay, her cargo was permitted to be sold; but those in charge, upon their departure at the end of the year, were warned by the Spanish authorities that in future any English ship attempting to trade in those waters would be confiscated. After calling at Achin, and bringing away most of the factors there, the *Supply* reached Bombay on May 25, 1646. At that place she was obliged to winter; and it was not until September 26 that she anchored at Swally. When the accounts were made up, there was found to be a gain on the whole venture of over 40,000 rials of eight; and this increased the regret with which Breton and his colleagues had learned the decision of the Company that any future attempt to trade with the Philippines should be made from Bantam, and not from Surat. However, they were obliged to acquiesce and content themselves with urging their employers to procure, if possible, the sanction of the King of Spain for the renewal of so lucrative a commerce.

In April, 1646, the factors at Basra wrote to the Company that 'never was tradeing worse in these parts', owing to a plethora of goods and an absence of customers; while much the same story came from Gombroon. The *Endeavour* reached the latter place from Surat at the end of April, and then proceeded to Basra, where she arrived on June 27. Trade was found to be at a standstill, occasioned in great measure by local disturbances and the more distant war that was being waged between the Venetians and the Turks. To make matters worse, the Dutch had again appeared off the port, with two vessels laden with goods that directly competed with those of the English factors. The latter, however, did not relax their efforts, and when in the middle of October they (with the exception of two junior merchants) embarked in the *Endeavour* for Swally, they carried with them nearly 60,000 rials of eight as the net produce of the season's trading. They reached Swally on December 4.

The letters from Agra, Ahmadābād, and the factors in Sind deal

chiefly with the provision and dispatch to Surat of indigo, piece-goods, or saltpetre, and therefore do not call for detailed notice. Attention may, however, be directed to a passage on p. 34, where the Surat factors relate that their saltpetre at Ahmadābād had been laid under an embargo by Prince Aurangzeb, who was 'very superstitious' and had been 'possessed by some of his churchmen that it is not lawfull for him to suffer us to export that specie, which peradventure may be employed against Moores'. The situation was, however, eased by the recall of the Prince at the end of November, as his successor, Shāistah Khān, was less scrupulous and more favourably disposed towards the English merchants. About the same time Mīrzā Alī Akbar was appointed Governor of Surat in place of Mīrzā Amīn.

Some useful glimpses of the state of affairs in the upcountry factories are afforded by the narrative of George Andrieszoon, published at Amsterdam in 1670. He went out from Holland in 1644 and, after a short stay at Batavia, proceeded (in attendance on a high official bound on a tour of inspection) to Surat in the *Nassau*, arriving in November, 1645. There he made friends with Robert Cranmer, who told him about Mandelslo's visit to India. Eight days after his arrival, Andrieszoon left Surat with an Anglo-Dutch caravan bound for Ahmadābād, from whence in January, 1646, he journeyed to Agra, where he found nine English factors. After a brief stay he set out on his return journey, again with a number of English and Dutch merchants and their goods. Arrived at Ahmadābād, the Dutch and George Tash (the English chief) were entertained at dinner by the Governor, who was much amused at the slashed doublet worn by Tash's servant and asked whether he was the English jester. Reaching Surat in March, Andrieszoon next voyaged to Mokha, thence to Gombroon, and so to Ceylon, Tranquebar, and Pulicat; and thus passed out of the region with which we are concerned.

With the close of the rains the various ships dispatched earlier in the year came homing once again to Swally. The *Francis* and *Lanneret* arrived together on September 12; a fortnight later the *Supply* came in; and on October 2 the *Hart* arrived from Bantam. In that same month the Surat Council bought a new ship, built at Chaul, which was named the *Expedition*. Accom-

panied by the *Lanneret*, she sailed for Gombroon early in December, reaching that place on the 17th. The *Hart*, which had been dispatched to Lārībandar to fetch the goods provided in Sind, returned to Surat two days before Christmas.

The fleet sent out from England for Surat in April, 1646, consisted of the *Antelope*, *Greyhound*, and *Dolphin*. On the voyage they lost company, and only the last-named presented herself at Swally on November 1. The *Antelope*, after a tedious voyage, managed to reach the same port towards the close of January, 1647; but the *Greyhound* was obliged to make for Mauritius, where she spent some time, and did not arrive at Swally till the following September.

Meanwhile the fortunes of the interloping association which had given so much trouble to the Company were steadily declining. Early in 1646 the *Hester* and *Loyalty* went home with insignificant cargoes, while the *Sun* made a second voyage to Persia. In April the *Lioness* left Kārwār for England. The settlement made at St. Augustine's Bay, Madagascar, in March, 1645, turned out a miserable failure, and in May, 1646, the disheartened survivors set sail for the Comoros, whence a few of them found their way to India (pp. 69, 76, 94). So also did a number of brass pagodas made in the colony (pp. 27, 38), to the great indignation of the Company's factors. At home Courteen himself, finding his affairs hopelessly embarrassed, had by this time withdrawn to the Continent, leaving his wife and her friends to save what they could from the wreck of his fortunes. This meant the isolation of his factors in India, whose position was rendered desperate by the fact that they had borrowed freely at Rājāpur and Rāybāg in anticipation of supplies from England; and, since none seemed likely to be forthcoming, they were virtually held prisoners by their creditors (p. 39). The commanders of Courteen's various ships still in Indian waters were absorbed in endeavouring to scrape together sufficient lading to return to England, and professed their inability to spare any money towards the satisfaction of the debts incurred by Courteen's Agent, Farren, and his associates. In September, 1646, Edward Thompson arrived at Rājāpur from England with the *Ruth*, and incautiously sent his stock up country for investment, with the result that it was seized by Farren's creditors, in spite of the fact that the ship had been sent out by a separate group of interlopers, headed by Alderman

Thomas Andrews and Maurice Thomson, who were paying Courteen a percentage for his countenance and the assistance of his factors in India. There was still, however, no prospect of farther relief, and towards the close of the year Farren and the other factors, growing desperate, wrote to Surat, offering to sell their fortified settlement at Kārwār (p. 59); but this was promptly declined by the President and Council. Most of Courteen's ships had now gone home, more or less empty. The *James*, however, had been sold at Goa; and later on the *Rebecca* was got rid of in similar fashion at Masulipatam.

The *Dolphin* sailed on her return voyage to England towards the end of January, 1647. Though the Company had warned its servants that indigo was fetching but a poor price at home, her lading included a considerable quantity of that commodity, provided before the arrival of the Company's advices. Part, it would seem, was the outcome of an experiment in the direct manufacture of indigo under the superintendence of the Ahmadābād factors (p. 77). The ship carried also a large consignment of piece-goods, cotton yarn, saltpetre, &c. Early in the same month the *Francis*, with a lading of pepper, left Swally for Basra, in company of the *Seahorse* and the *Endeavour*, both bound for Gombroon. At the end of February the *Antelope* was dispatched to the latter place, with instructions to proceed thence to Madraspatam. The *Falcon* came in from Persia on March 11, and on the 22nd sailed for Mokha, from whence she was to return by way of various ports on the Malabar coast. It had been intended to send the *Lanneret* to Suakin; but this venture was postponed and the vessel was dispatched to Basra instead. The *Seahorse*, on her return from Gombroon, was ordered to Mokha; and it was decided to send the *Francis* to the Coromandel Coast, carrying provisions to relieve the English factors, who were suffering from the effects of a widespread famine. The *Endeavour* sailed in April for the same destination, with instructions to continue her voyage to Pegu, for the purpose of opening up trade in that country, to which Greenhill, one of the Coast factors, had already dispatched a ship on his own account (p. 76 of the last volume). She was followed at the beginning of May by the *Supply*, which was to go first to Achin, and then to Johore on an experimental voyage.

In June, 1647, an appeal for help reached Surat from three of Courteen's factors at Rāybāg (p. 133). Captain Thompson, returning with the *Ruth* from Gombroon and finding his stock seized, had threatened to capture the junks of the Rājāpur merchants in satisfaction; and should he carry out this intention, said the writers, 'we are all lost men.' The Surat Council, alarmed lest their interests should also suffer, wrote a remonstrance to Thompson, who replied (p. 148), disclaiming any intention of injuring the Company, but intimating his determination to secure redress for his wrongs in the manner indicated. However, in the end he proceeded quietly to Kārwār, and thence to England, without doing injury to any one (p. 195).

On September 18, 1647, the *Hind* from Bantam anchored in Swally Hole; and a few days later she was joined by the *Eagle* and the *Blessing*, which had been dispatched by the Company for Surat in the previous spring. Immediately after arrived the *Greyhound*, which, as already narrated, had been sent out the year before, but had missed her monsoon and had spent the interim at Mauritius. The *Seahorse*, which had failed to reach Mokha and had put into Aden instead, reached Swally on September 20, bringing back part of her cargo unsold.

Of the letters brought from England by the *Eagle* and the *Blessing* no copies are available; but their contents are partly known from the replies sent in the following January and from certain entries in the home records of the Company. The latter had suffered a severe check in March, 1647, when the House of Lords threw out an 'ordinance' passed by the Commons for securing to the Company the exclusive trade to the Indies, Courteen and his partners being allowed three years to withdraw their ships and goods (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. xii). In the first shock of their disappointment, the members of the Company resolved that, unless this decision was reconsidered, they would wind up the existing Joint Stock and abandon the trade. In the meantime it was determined to instruct the Presidents at Surat and Bantam to reduce the number of factories, to send home all merchants that could be spared, as well as all available ships, and to be prepared to wind up their business by the time the next year's advices were received. In reply, the President and Council at Surat promised a general con-

formity with these instructions; but evidently they took a more cheerful view of the Company's prospects, in spite of its 'late dis-annimations', and were confident that its trade would before long attain 'a greater splendor then it hath yet in our times appeared in'. Various reasons were given for deferring the sale of their local shipping; the number of factors, they declared, had been so reduced by death or by return to England that few could now be spared; and while promising to lessen their investments and to 'bring all busines to as neare a period' as possible, they averred that it would be impossible '(if you should soe resolve) to cleare all and leave the cuntry in soe short a time as you propound unto your-selves' (p. 191).

Mention has been already made of the endeavours to extend the area of English trade by sending the *Supply* to Johore and the *Endeavour* to Pegu. The former reached Achin on May 27, 1647, and Philip Wylde, the factor in charge, promptly applied to the Queen for permission to trade at Perak, which was under her jurisdiction. This was refused; but, nothing daunted, Wylde departed with the ship on June 18 to try his luck at Johore. Malacca was reached on July 13, and a fortnight later the *Supply* was anchored at the mouth of the Johore river. The King received the newcomers cordially, and promised that no customs duties should be demanded on this occasion; but he would not consent to the establishment of an English factory in his dominions, for fear a like demand should be preferred by the Dutch, 'to the dequiteing of his wonted quiet liveing'. He was ready, however, to permit a ship to come yearly to his port, on payment of certain specified dues. Wylde did his best to dispose of his goods, but found the market already flooded with similar articles brought by Gujārātī traders. He therefore departed at the beginning of September, and returned to Achin (p. 170), whence, after some delay, the *Supply* proceeded to Surat.

Meanwhile the *Endeavour* had reached the coast of Pegu on October 3, 1647, and twenty days later had anchored off Syriam, the principal port. Thomas Breton, the factor in charge, found the country in a distracted state, owing to civil war at Ava, and it was not until the middle of December that matters settled down again. Part of the vessel's cargo was sold at a good profit, though

the heavy customs dues levied at the port made a serious inroad into the proceeds (p. 177). Early in the new year, it seems, the factors set out in a couple of boats for Ava; and a letter dated February 11, 1648 (p. 200) describes the loss they sustained by the burning of one of the boats the previous morning. Notwithstanding this, the venture appears to have proved a fairly profitable one (p. 291).

The *Falcon* returned to Swally early in November, 1647. She had found the market at Mokha as bad as before, but fortunately the factors had succeeded in selling their last year's stock to the Governor, who was anxious to enlist their sympathies in consequence of a quarrel between him and the Dutch (p. 144). Oxenden left the port in the *Falcon* on August 12, having entrusted a stock of goods to a couple of Indian brokers. After calling at Aden, where he sold a quantity of calicoes and put the rest on board the *Seahorse* for return to Surat, he proceeded to the Malabar coast. There he purchased a quantity of pepper and cinnamon, with which he reached Swally on December 4 (p. 194).

Early in 1648 three vessels—the *Eagle*, *Antelope*, and *Greyhound*—were dispatched to England from Swally with cargoes costing over eleven lakhs of mahmūdīs (about 55,000*l.*). They reached the Downs safely in the following June, accompanied by the *Mary* from Bantam. In this fleet went home Edward Knipe, who was still under the displeasure of the Company. His adventurous journey down from Agra with a caravan of goods, and the attack made upon the latter by a band of robbers, are described on p. 193. In the same letter the factors mention that Mīrzā Alī Akbar, Governor of Surat and Cambay, had been assassinated in December, 1647, by a Rājpūt whose family he had wronged (p. 196). He was succeeded by Muizz-ul-Mulk, who had previously held the same post in 1629–35 and 1638–41.

Towards the end of January the *Blessing*, laden with coral, broadcloth, &c., under the charge of George Oxenden, was dispatched down the Malabar coast as far as Cochin, in the hope of selling her goods and obtaining a stock of cinnamon, pepper, &c. Returning to Goa or Rājāpur, she was next to proceed to Socotra and Mokha. At the latter port she would meet the *Falcon*, to which any goods intended for Surat were to be transferred; while

the *Blessing* herself was to go again to the Malabar coast, pick up any goods previously contracted for, and so return to Surat. Throughout her voyage she was to do her best to capture any Malabar vessels she might meet.

Letters from London, received overland on March 13, 1648, acquainted the Surat factors that funds had been subscribed for a new stock, called the Second General Voyage. The nominal capital amounted to nearly 200,000*l.*; though, as only three-fourths was called up, and some subscribers failed to make good their undertakings, the actual sum received was 141,200*l.* As in the case of the First General Voyage, the Committees of the new body were allowed to have the use of the Company's offices, &c., at home and abroad, and the assistance of its factors, on paying to the Fourth Joint Stock a percentage on goods sent out or home. Thus warned, the factors set busily to work to prepare cargoes for the ships expected in the autumn. Meanwhile four ships had been dispatched to Gombroon during the first three months of the year; besides the *Falcon* to Mokha and Suakin in the middle of February. In April the *Expedition* was sent to Basra, followed twelve days later by the *Lanneret*; they returned to Swally December 13.

Two ships from England—the *Aleppo Merchant* and the *Golden Fleece*—made their appearance at Swally on September 27 and October 12 respectively; while at the end of the latter month the *Farewell* arrived from Bantam. On November 19 the *Blessing* returned from Mokha and the Malabar Coast. Jeremy Blackman, the commander of the *Golden Fleece*, had, on a previous voyage as captain of one of Courteen's ships, made a contract with the Portuguese Viceroy to bring him out ammunition to be exchanged for cinnamon (see the previous volume, p. xxi). He touched at Goa on his way to Surat, but was unable to effect a settlement, as the Portuguese refused to agree to the prices demanded for the ammunition and for a mortar which had been brought with it. Blackman therefore reshipped the lot and carried them to Surat, where the mortar and part of the ammunition were purchased by the Governor for the use of the Emperor. At the end of October Blackman sailed for Rājāpur, where he found that some broadcloth he had left there in the charge of a factor had been seized in part satisfaction of debts due from Courteen's agents. A native

broker was therefore sent to Bījāpur with letters from the President, but no redress could be obtained. The negotiations dragged on for a long time, and were still unfinished at the period when the volume closes. Meanwhile, Hicks and the other servants of Courteen imprisoned at Rāybāg for debt had been released by their creditors, 'for want of meanes to maintaine them', and had gone overland to Masulipatam to seek passage for England.

The letters from Persia at this time contain much of general interest. They speak of a Turkish embassy to that country, and of another dispatched by the Shāh to Russia. The conclusion of the war between the Portuguese at Muskat and the neighbouring Arabs is also mentioned, the former retaining Muskat itself but losing some places in the neighbourhood and forgoing their claim to impose customs duties on the natives. The chief item of interest, however, is the young Shāh's campaign against Kandahār, the betrayal of which to the Mogul Emperor by Alī Mardān Khān in 1637 had been a sore blow to Persian pride. With a powerful army the Shāh assailed the city in the middle of December, 1648, and mastered it after a siege of two months. On the first news of the Persian attack, Shāh Jahān had ordered Prince Aurangzeb to advance to the relief; but the season of the year greatly impeded the progress of the Mogul troops, and it was not until the middle of May, 1649, that they reached their destination. The Persian garrison was besieged in turn for three and a half months; and then, grain being scarce and a proper siege train wanting, Aurangzeb abandoned the enterprise (p. 269). There are, by the way, some curious references on pp. 211, 217, 267 to the experiences of two European gunners who assisted the Persian army in its attack upon the city. We learn also that the obstruction of the caravan route by these operations had largely benefited the trade by sea between Gombroon and India (pp. 261, 265, 271).

The long war between Spain and the United Provinces had been terminated early in 1648 by the Treaty of Munster, by which the independence of Holland was formally recognized and freedom of trade in the Indies was conceded to the Dutch. The latter were now at peace with all the European powers having interests in the East, and were at liberty, therefore, to employ their forces against those Asiatic states with which they were at variance. These

included both Persia and India. In the former kingdom the Dutch grievances alluded to in the last volume remained unredressed, and no agreement had been come to regarding the terms on which their merchants were to be allowed to purchase silk ; in the latter trouble had for some time been brewing. The Dutch complained that Shāistah Khān at Ahmadābād had extorted money from their saltpetre buyers : that in Bengal their merchants were subjected to vexatious treatment on the score of depredations committed by the Danes: and that in Surat their factory had (April, 1648) been assaulted and robbed without any assistance or compensation being afforded by the local authorities. On the other hand, considerable resentment had been aroused amongst Indian merchants by the attempts of the Dutch to monopolize the trade with the Malay Peninsula, especially in tin, for which purpose they were endeavouring to close to Indian traders not only the ports of the Peninsula itself, but also those under the Queen of Achin, thus excluding them from a traffic which they had long frequented. Representations had been made at court, with the result that the merchants had been encouraged to continue their trade and had been promised protection against any interference; but at the persuasion of the Surat Governor, who evidently dreaded a breach with the Dutch, the merchants agreed to await a reply from Batavia to the representations addressed to the Governor-General on the subject; and the Dutch chief at Surat, writing in April, 1648, urged that a conciliatory attitude should be adopted. How strong the feeling was on this subject was quickly discovered by Jan Tack, the second at Agra, who in May, 1648, arrived at Delhi to negotiate for the redress of the grievances of his fellow countrymen. He had no difficulty in obtaining a *farmān*, ordering the Surat officials to assist in recovering the property stolen from the Dutch ; and also a letter of reproof to Shāistah Khān. But when he pressed for a grant for Bengal and Orissa, he was asked in reply to explain why his nation refused to grant passes to Surat vessels desirous of visiting Achin, and as he could give no assurances that these would in future be furnished, he was plainly told that the Dutch must expect no concessions unless they were willing to reciprocate. Recognizing that his mission was a failure, Tack in August returned to Agra. Meanwhile the Governor of Surat dispatched a

ship to Achin without a pass, warning the Dutch factors that, if she were interfered with, they would be made responsible for any damages sustained.

The authorities at Batavia, though not fully aware of what was passing in India, had determined to assert themselves vigorously. At the end of July, 1648, they dispatched a strong fleet to Surat, under the command of Barentszoon, the late Director at that place. He carried a reply to the Governor (p. 212), enumerating various grievances and flatly refusing to permit trade with Achin, Malacca, and the neighbouring ports. The instructions given to Barentszoon were of the most uncompromising description. If satisfaction were not at once forthcoming, he was to waylay and seize the Surat ships returning from the Red Sea and elsewhere, and hold these until his demands were granted. Any English vessels found to have freight on board belonging to Indian merchants were likewise to be detained—forcibly, if the English could not be persuaded to acquiesce. Should he miss the incoming fleet, he was to establish a blockade, and threaten a general war. When his demands had been conceded at Surat, he was to go on to Gombroon and oblige the Persians to grant freedom from customs and redress of other grievances. The result of all this was, however, disappointing. Barentzoon arrived at Surat too late to interfere with the incoming ships, and he quickly saw that any damage he could do would be more than counterbalanced by the confiscation of Dutch property on shore; so his instructions were kept secret and hostile action postponed till the next season.[1] He then proceeded to warn the Surat merchants to refrain from sending vessels to Persian ports, in view of pending hostilities. The English President and Council at once protested against any action being taken that might damage British interests in the Gulf; but notwithstanding this the Dutch fleet sailed for Gombroon in the middle of November. Little good seems to have resulted from the demonstration, for the Persians were fully prepared to resist an attack, and Barentszoon was obliged therefore to adopt a conciliatory attitude. Meanwhile, the Surat Council, finding abundance of freight goods accumulating,

[1] For the proceedings of the Dutch in India and Persia during the years 1648–50 see the *Hague Transcripts* (India Office), series i. vol. xvi. nos. 504–10, 514; vol. xvii. nos. 517, 529, 533; also series iii. vol. iv. C 8, G 8.

which the Indian shippers were afraid of carrying, decided in January, 1649, to send the *Blessing* and *Falcon* to Persia with any freight that might be offered at the owners' risk; while a month later the *Seahorse*, and a native junk which had been temporarily taken over by the English, sailed for the same destination on a similar errand.

President Breton, troubled as he was with constant attacks of gout, was looking forward eagerly to his returning to England, to spend the rest of his days as a country gentleman. The funds for this purpose he had already remitted in part. At the beginning of 1648 he had sent home a large quantity of raw silk to be sold on his private account, excusing his boldness in thus trenching on his employers' ground by pointing out that they had expressly forbidden the inclusion of silk among the goods to be sent home that year on account of the Company; and ingeniously pleading that he was really rendering them a service by enabling them, at no risk to themselves, to try the London market for this commodity. The silk realized about 3,000*l.*, but when Breton's brother applied for payment of the amount, the Court of Committees demurred. They had reason to suspect the President of extensive private trading, and they thought it safer to pay over only half the sum, retaining the rest in their hands (at interest) until Breton should have returned and cleared his account. The President's relatives pleaded hard for a reconsideration of this decision, on the ground that they had bought land on his account, and the money was all needed for the completion of the purchase; but the Court stood firm (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 297 &c.). Meanwhile, by the 1648 fleet, the Company had granted Breton permission to return by the next shipping and had designated as his successor his second, Thomas Merry. Accordingly Breton prepared to embark in the ships which were to go home at the beginning of 1649. However, an unexpected difficulty arose, for the Governor of Surat, Muizz-ul-Mulk, alarmed at the attitude of the Dutch and leaning much, it would seem, on the counsel of his old friend the English President, positively forbade the latter to leave Surat for the present. Arguments and entreaties failed to move him, and the question arose what was to be done. Merry, who had a strong objection to being thus balked of the position of President, thought that the best solu-

tion would be for Breton to give up the post and remain as a private individual, but to this course the latter naturally objected; if he stayed at all, it must be as President. At a general consultation the majority of the Company's servants supported Breton, and so Merry gave way, though grudgingly and with an evident belief that the whole affair was a plot on the part of Breton or his friends to give him a longer lease of office.

The dispute being thus settled, the *Golden Fleece* and *Aleppo Merchant* were dispatched to England, with about 50,000*l.* worth of goods, at the close of January, 1649. The *Farewell* had already sailed on its return to Bantam. In the middle of February the *Lanneret* departed for Mokha and Suakin, with orders to return via Basra or Gombroon with a cargo of coffee for those parts. The *Falcon* sailed early in April for Basra, carrying thither a couple of merchants to wind up affairs there. About the same time the *Expedition* departed for Gombroon, from which place she was to make a voyage to the Coromandel Coast and back before returning to Surat. At the end of April the *Blessing* left Surat for Bantam, where she arrived early in July.

A letter to the Company, sent overland early in April, 1649, contained among other news the announcement that one of the Agra factors, Joshua Blackwell by name, had publicly abjured his religion and turned Muhammadan (p. 200). This 'damned apostacy' created a sensation, for, although it was not uncommon for English or Dutch sailors to embrace Islām on deserting to 'the Moors', as yet no one of higher rank had thus forsaken his faith. Blackwell soon had cause to repent his lapse (p. 294), and in the spring of 1650 he humbly sought re-admission to the Christian fold. This was readily granted; but it was deemed unwise to employ him again in India, and so he was sent back to England early in 1651.

President Breton died on July 21, 1649, after an illness of three weeks, and Merry at last obtained the coveted post. In the following month the Dutch at Surat struck their long-meditated blow, and with complete success. At the first news of the arrival of a Dutch ship the Agent, with his wife and family, went down the river in his barge, under pretence of an excursion, and proceeded on board. He was soon joined by another ship from Gombroon and two more from Mokha, bringing under guard a junk belonging to

the Emperor; and it was then intimated that this vessel would be detained (as also the goods laden in the Dutch ships on account of Indian merchants) until satisfaction were given. The result was that ample compensation was paid for the losses sustained by the robbery of the Dutch factory, the demand for free trade to Achin was waived, and the Dutch were permitted to house their goods in a special warehouse, in lieu of sending them to the customhouse; further, the Governor and the principal merchants undertook to do their best to induce the Emperor to remedy the grievances of the Hollanders regarding Bengal, &c. In the autumn of 1650 Tack was again deputed to court, and this time found a more gracious reception (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvii. nos. 529, 533).

Towards the end of September, 1649, the *Eagle* reached Swally from England with a good sum of money; and a few weeks later she was sent down the coast to Goa and Rājāpur to fetch pepper and other goods, with which she returned just before Christmas, to prepare for her voyage back to England. The *Lanneret* anchored at Swally on November 8, bringing news that the venture to Suakin had produced but poor results. The two factors left at Mokha had already got back to Surat in a Dutch ship, having brought away all the Company's property and dissolved the factory. The return of the *Falcon* from Basra and Gombroon in the same month of November started a bitter quarrel between Andrew Trumball, her commander, and Merry's council. On the complaints of his officers and crew, Trumball was removed from the command, and later on he was dismissed the service (p. 307). He continued, however, to live in Surat, and he gave a considerable amount of trouble until he went home early in 1651.

At the close of the year 1649 the *Seahorse* returned from Achin, having in company the *Hind* from Bantam. They brought intelligence that the Dutch had succeeded in obtaining from the Queen of Achin a grant of exclusive trade on the west coast of Sumatra (p. 291). As the Company had already vetoed further voyages to Achin, the Surat Council were not greatly disturbed at this, but they were much concerned at the quantity of goods brought back from the abandoned factory and the losses incurred in consequence.

A letter written to the Company in November, 1649, by the

factors at Ispahān betrays considerable uneasiness lest the 'tragicall story [of] our Kings beheadinge' should lead the young Shāh to manifest his displeasure by cancelling the concession to the English of a share in the customs of Gombroon (p. 269). However, Shāh Abbās was still busy on his eastern frontier, and nothing was heard of the matter; but it was resolved that, on his return to his capital, presents should be offered to him and to the Itimād-uddaula in the hope that cordial relations would thus be maintained. In point of fact, the death of King Charles was not yet known at the Persian court in September, 1651 (*O.C.* 2224). It may be added that in January, 1650, the Portuguese lost their last stronghold in the Persian Gulf by the surrender of Muskat to its Arab assailants; though they still retained an uncertain footing at the Persian port of Kung, where, under an agreement concluded in 1631 (see the 1630–33 volume, p. 140), they were supposed to receive half the customs revenue.

Towards the end of January, 1650, the *Eagle* sailed for England, with a letter from the President and Council stating that they were still in debt to the extent of 40,000*l.* and urging the provision of means to pay off these expensive liabilities. Her cargo, invoiced at about 28,700*l.*, consisted largely of saltpetre, silk, and piece-goods. During the navigable season voyages were made to Basra, Gombroon, and Mokha, and a final visit was paid to Suakin, which was denounced as a 'base, chargeable, and unproffitable place'. At the other three ports satisfactory results were obtained.

The trouble with the Dutch at Surat had cost the Governor (Muizz-ul-Mulk) his post, and on November 16, 1649, he was succeeded by Mīrzā Arab, though he did not leave the neighbourhood of the city until the following April. All this time the English factors were pressing him to discharge his heavy indebtedness to them, chiefly on account of goods he had bought on behalf of the Emperor; but in the end he went away in their debt, protesting that he had exhausted his money. As he was bound for court, to clear his accounts with the imperial officers, and as the English already had several grievances to lay before the Mogul, it was decided to depute to Delhi Richard Davidge, the head of the conjoint factories of Agra and Lucknow. Provided with a supply of presents, he arrived at the new capital towards the end of July, 1650,

and soon obtained a series of *farmāns* granting the English freedom from road-dues, ordering the officials at Surat and in Sind to abstain from certain vexatious practices which were the subject of complaint, and providing for compensation to be given for the robbery of a caravan between Agra and Lucknow some months before. It is interesting to note, by the way, that the Wazīr himself confessed that the Emperor's *farmān* would be of little use in Rājputāna, 'where they obay not the Kings comands.' The recovery of the money due from Muizz-ul-Mulk proved a matter of great difficulty, and Davidge was glad to compound the debt for 10,000 rupees—a slight reduction on the original claim. On January 25, 1651, he had a farewell audience of the Emperor and was presented with a jewelled dagger for the President and a horse for himself (*O. C.* 2203). Later it was intimated that the dagger was intended for the Governor of the Company; but Prince Dārā Shikoh gave a similar dagger for the President, besides a robe of honour to Davidge. The latter left Delhi on February 13 (*O. C.* 2212).

Letters received on Michaelmas Day by way of Madras brought the news of the formation in England of a new stock, known as the United Joint Stock. This had been effected (see *Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1644–49, pp. xxi–xxv) by a coalition between the older supporters of the trade and a newer body with certain wider aims, including the development of trade between Guinea and India, the opening up of Bengal, and the establishment of colonies in various parts of the East Indies, especially on the island of Assada, off the north-west coast of Madagascar. The last-named adventure had already ended disastrously by the time the letters arrived; for on August 20 two small vessels had reached Surat with the remains of the little colony.[1]

The *Love* and the *Aleppo Merchant* had been freighted and dispatched from England in April, 1650, but contrary winds delayed their voyage and it was not until December 4 that they anchored at Swally. The goods already collected would not suffice to lade more than one vessel, and so it was decided to send back only the *Love*, employing the *Aleppo Merchant* until the following year in voyages to Persia and the Coast, it being expected that she would

[1] For an account of the collapse of the Assada scheme see the introduction to *Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1650–54, p. ix.

thus earn enough in freight charges to compensate for the expense of her demurrage. In November the *Expedition* was sent down the Malabar Coast to Goa and Rājāpur, and her return with a good quantity of pepper, cardamoms, and cinnamon helped materially in lading the *Love*, which was dispatched for England at the beginning of February, 1651, with a cargo invoiced at about 26,000*l.* (*O. C.* 2204).

An account of the seizure by the Bījāpur officials of Courteen's factory at Kārwār is given on p. 341. Two interloping vessels still in Indian waters were at this time causing considerable disturbance. One of these, the *Friendship*, commanded by Humphrey Morse, had been for some years trading from port to port, with a crew constantly diminished by sickness and desertion; the other, the *Loyalty*, under John Durson, had come out from England in the spring of 1648, and had then made a voyage to Persia. In March, 1650, a Surat letter mentions (p. 306) that, after his return to Kārwār, Durson landed with a quantity of goods at the neighbouring port of Mirjān, where a dispute ensued with the Governor and Durson was imprisoned for a time. He was released on the interposition of Sivappa Nāyak, the Bednūr Rājā, and was thus enabled to rejoin his ship at Bhatkal. Negotiations followed with Sivappa Nāyak, who was anxious to develop commerce with the English, but these came to nothing and Durson sailed away, leaving four of his men prisoners on shore (*O. C.* 2124). He proceeded to Balasore, where he arrived at the end of August, 1650, intending to procure a lading of saltpetre and then return to England (*O. C.* 2209). In the meantime Morse, in the *Friendship*, had likewise come into collision with the Bījāpur officials, and had been imprisoned, together with several of his crew, by the Governor of Rājāpur. He soon contrived to escape, leaving his men and goods behind; and he then proceeded to lie in wait for the Bījāpur junks returning from the Red Sea, hoping thus to obtain the restitution of the prisoners and the captured goods. Failing in this, he in the autumn of 1650 attacked and burnt Jaitāpur, the port of Rājāpur, but apparently without getting much booty (p. 325). He then seized two junks and carried them to Goa, where, however, the Viceroy obliged him to release one of them. He also captured a Malabar vessel trading to Surat, and provided with a pass from

the President and Council there. This led to complaints from the Governor of Surat, and a protest from Merry and his colleagues (pp. 330, 340). The death of Morse in December, 1650, while still at Goa, put an end to the controversy. The survivors sold the *Friendship* and the prizes and went their several ways, some returning to Europe in a Portuguese vessel, while others managed to get to Surat (*O. C.* 2119).

The first letter from the Coromandel Coast during the period covered by the present instalment is one from Fort St. George (p. 24), announcing the return of Greenhill with the grant he had obtained from the Carnatic Rājā, as narrated in the last volume. As usual the factors were in dire straits for money to pay for the goods they had ordered, and they were relying on Surat (since Bantam had failed them) to provide both funds and a ship to carry away their merchandise. The country was distracted by civil war between three of the chief Nāyaks on the one hand and Srī Ranga on the other; while the latter was also being attacked by the King of Bījāpur on the west and by the Golconda forces, under Mīr Jumla, on the east. Malaya had been placed in command of an army intended to deal with the Golconda forces, and he had been obliged in consequence to withdraw the bulk of the troops investing Pulicat; whereupon the Dutch had made a vigorous sortie, but only to be repulsed with some loss. Three weeks later another letter announced that Malaya had fallen into disgrace, owing to his having surrendered 'the strongest hould in this kingdome' to Mīr Jumla, the Golconda general, whose successes were alarming the English for the safety of their goods and persons. Then comes a long silence, but from the Dutch records we learn that Srī Ranga, after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bījāpur army, and that the Nāyaks, sobered by the successes of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance and promised to assist the King in maintaining the independence of his country. The siege of Pulicat ceased with the fall of Malaya from power; and in May a fresh lease of the town and district was obtained from Srī Ranga. In the same month Mīr Jumla intimated that he was sending an official to take possession of Pulicat; to which the Dutch returned an answer, professing the most friendly sentiments but intimating

that they intended to retain the town at all costs. A visit paid to Mīr Jumla by the chief factor resulted in an amicable understanding, besides some profitable business arrangements (*Hague Transcripts* at India Office : series i. vol. xv. no. 484).

Towards the end of May, 1646, the *Hind* reached Fort St. George from Surat. Ivy, the Agent, had intended to proceed in her to Bantam; but want of means to discharge existing debts obliged him to await supplies from that Presidency before quitting his post. These supplies were brought on July 3 by the *Seaflower*, on board of which came Aaron Baker, the Bantam President, who at the time of his appointment had been instructed by the Company to proceed to the Coromandel Coast and set matters straight there (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 79). He remained until August 10, when, leaving Ivy to continue as Agent for yet a year longer, he departed for Bantam in the *Hind*, carrying with him Peniston, Greenhill, and other factors. Those left behind had little to do except provide a cargo to be carried to Persia by the *Falcon*. That vessel left Mokha on June 23 and reached Fort St. George on July 29. After a visit to Masulipatam, she embarked the goods provided for her and started for Gombroon on October 14.

In October came a squabble between the English at Fort St. George and their Portuguese neighbours of San Thomé, who had imprisoned certain inhabitants of Madraspatam and pillaged the suburbs of that place. Upon the English interfering for the protection of their people, a fight took place, in which three Englishmen were killed (p. 53); and this was followed by a declaration of war on the part of the Governor of San Thomé. A letter from Achin of a little later date (p. 55) reported that San Thomé was being besieged by the Golconda troops, and that the latter had been assisted by the English, several of whom had been killed in an unsuccessful assault upon the city; this had been followed by an agreement between the Fort St. George Council and a new Governor of St. Thomé, but the 'Moors' were still continuing the siege. A more reliable account of these events is given in a letter from Madraspatam of January 4, 1647, which says that the latter place had been blockaded by the Portuguese for a time, but that they had fled on the appearance of a Moorish force which the English had summoned to their assistance; and that thereupon

a cessation of hostilities had been arranged, the points in dispute being left to be determined between Surat and Goa.

To the turmoil of war and other troubles on the Coast was now added a great dearth, 'insoemuch as the people give themselves for slaves to any man that will but feede them' (p. 55 *n.*), and the price of food rose to an excessive height. At the beginning of 1647 we find the factors at Fort St. George writing to Masulipatam for a supply of provisions, without which they expect to be reduced to a diet of rice and water. The famine is also referred to in a letter written at the same time to Surat, which says that it had 'almost destroyed all the kindome', the loss of life in Madraspatam since September being reckoned at 3,000, while San Thomé and Pulicat had each lost about five times that number (p. 70). The same letter reports that Mīr Jumla had conquered all the neighbouring districts, and was within two days' march of the King's court.

In May, 1647, the *Advice* reached Fort St. George from Bantam, bringing a stock of goods and a small supply of money. As, however, the latter was only one-fifth of the amount of the factors' indebtedness, while trade was absolutely at a standstill, the relief was more apparent than real (p. 129). The prospect was brightened before long by the arrival of the *Endeavour* and the *Francis* from Surat and of the *Antelope* from Gombroon; while early in July the *Farewell*, which had been dispatched by the Company from England in the preceding January, anchored at Fort St. George.

Writing to the Company in October, 1647, the Fort St. George factors (p. 163) reported that, owing to the devastation wrought by the famine, piece-goods were very dear, while for Europe goods there was absolutely no demand. Some profit had been made by selling the rice received from Surat, and a further quantity obtained from places outside the famine area. The arrival of the *Farewell* had provided the factors with funds; but they bewailed in feeling terms the fact that the Company had sent them no liquor 'to have washed our heavie harts from the stench of the dead carcazees that lieth most fearefully to beehould in all places that wee goe, as well as the noise of the dyeing people'. They saw no prospect of providing cargoes for Bantam or England, as most of their stock consisted of coral, the demand for which was 'as dead at present

as the dead mens bones that lyeth about our towne'. Their relations with the Dutch were now very friendly. Malaya had returned to Pulicat and was once again in favour there; while the dispute over the goods he had seized from the Dutch and sold to the English had been buried in oblivion. The funds brought by the *Farewell* had enabled the factors to discharge a loan of 16,000 rials from Mīr Jumla the previous year—possibly part of his plunder, for he had now 'almost conquer'd this kingdome'. When repaying the money, which had been lent free of interest, they gave him as a present a brass gun; and in return he 'confirm'd under the King of Gulcondah[s] great seale all our former privilidges in ample manner, as it was graunted unto us by the foresaid fledd Jentue King' [Srī Ranga]. This letter was sent by the *Antelope*, which left Fort St. George in the middle of October and reached Surat on December 7.

Some additional particulars of the negotiations with the Nawāb Mīr Jumla are given in a document of 1654 (*O. C.* 2542), though allowance must be made for the animosity displayed therein against the Brahman Venkata, who was the agent employed by Ivy for the purpose. According to this story, on the approach of the Golconda troops Venkata was dispatched to greet the Nawāb and obtain from him a confirmation of the privileges enjoyed by the English. Mīr Jumla readily promised this, but asked for particulars; whereupon, it is alleged, the wily Brahman submitted a garbled version, omitting some clauses and adding others. The Nawāb made no demur, but stipulated for the gift of a brass gun as a condition of his assent; and to this Venkata agreed. On his return, however, he said nothing about the gun, and, when Mīr Jumla sent for it, Ivy was allowed to think that this was a new demand, with the result that he gave an angry refusal. The Nawāb, annoyed at this, summoned Venkata and the Town Accountant to the camp; but the Brahman, fearing the result of a fresh interview, prevailed on Ivy to send the Accountant alone. Mīr Jumla 'dealt roughly' with the latter and ordered him to give full details of the existing arrangements. The frightened official, unaware of what had been furnished before, gave in a true account, with the result that the Brahman's duplicity became apparent. The Nawāb now sent a fresh summons to Venkata, who, alarmed for his life,

induced Ivy to imprison him as a debtor of the Company. However, Mīr Jumla was still eager to obtain the gun, and, on a promise that this should be given, he was appeased, and a satisfactory conclusion was thus reached.

Of what was happening at Balasore, in the Bay of Bengal, during 1646 and 1647, we are almost entirely ignorant. A letter from Fort St. George at the beginning of the latter year mentions that news had been received from Netlam, the factor in charge, that one of Courteen's ships, the *Rebecca*, had reached Balasore from Achin, with instructions to settle a factory there and then to proceed with freight goods to Persia (p. 69). Later in the year we hear that Netlam has been joined by Richard Hudson, who had been dispatched in the *Farewell* (July) to buy cotton goods and rice (p. 166); and in December the latter gives a lively account (p. 174) of an attack made upon the English. It appears that the Danes, who had long-standing grievances against the native authorities, had endeavoured to force a settlement by seizing a ship laden with elephants; whereupon it was intimated to the English that they would be held responsible for any damage done by their co-religionists. Finding remonstrance unavailing, the factors went on board their vessel and prepared to depart. A hot fire was opened upon the English ship, but the guns of the latter responded effectively, 'and for three or four howres we made warme worke' (p. 175). The sequel is not told, but presumably a peace was patched up.

On the first day of 1648 the *Francis* sailed from Madraspatam for Tegnapatam and Bantam. The *Farewell*, returning from the Bay, reached Fort St. George on January 11, and was thereupon sent to Tegnapatam to fetch back Gurney, who had proceeded thither to superintend the dispatch of the *Francis* to Bantam. 'The warrs', wrote the factors (p. 198), 'doth yett continue in these parts; butt (God bee thanked) the famine is much abated.' In May the *Farewell* herself proceeded to Bantam, whence she was dispatched to Surat on August 4.

Meanwhile at home the Committees of the new Second General Voyage (see p. xv) had dispatched two ships, the *Dolphin* and the *Bonito*, to the Coast with a stock for investment there. These vessels reached Fort St. George on June 25, 1648; and three days

later the *Bonito* was sent on to Masulipatam, with orders to proceed from thence to the Bay of Bengal. On August 19, her consort departed for Masulipatam and Jambi, on her way to Bantam. From the latter port the *Seaflower* had brought Henry Greenhill to succeed Ivy as Agent, and the latter departed in her for Bantam towards the end of September. A letter he carried declared that food was dear and cotton goods were difficult to obtain, as the country was being harried by fresh incursions of the Golconda and Bījāpur armies, with the result that Porto Novo and Pondicherri were 'in a manner ruin'd', while Tegnapatam, the other chief centre of the piece-goods trade in that region, had had to buy immunity from a like fate by 'continueall presents'.

Not a single one of the official letters written by the Agent and Council on the Coast during 1649 and 1650 has survived. We learn, however, that early in the former year the *Bonito* was dispatched to England from Fort St. George—apparently the first ship to go home direct from the new settlement. The *Endeavour* seems to have got back to the coast from Pegu some time in the spring or early summer, and on August 6 she sailed from Masulipatam for Bantam, arriving there towards the close of November. She had left behind in Pegu a stock of goods, on the security of which a sum of money had been borrowed and sent to Bengal under the charge of Richard Knipe. This induced the Madras Council to dispatch to Balasore the *Greyhound*, which had arrived from England in July, 1649; but on reaching her destination she found no goods ready for shipment, Knipe being with his whole stock at Rājmahāl, the capital of Bengal (p. 291). She got back to Fort St. George in November, and was thereupon sent to Bantam, whence she departed for England in January, 1650. The *Expedition* also reached the Coast from Gombroon some time in the summer, leaving again for Surat and Persia at the beginning of October. Another incoming vessel was the *Dove* from Bantam, which was thereupon employed in a voyage to Pegu (p. 317), returning in March, 1650.

A letter from the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia, dated at the close of 1649 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvi. no. 510), says that the English on the Coromandel Coast had during the past season received ample supplies of money from England, Surat,

and Bantam, and had bought large quantities of goods; so that their affairs were in a flourishing condition. We may note, too, that the Company write in February, 1650, that 'the callicoes which for the most part wee have sold are of the Coromondell makeing, whoe are nowe preferr'd before anie of the Surat cloathing, because they fitt best for French and other forren sales' (p. 297).

The *Dove* sailed on her return voyage to Bantam in May, 1650 (*O.C.* 2200). The next event of importance at Fort St. George was the arrival in August, 1650, of the *Bonito* and *Lioness* from England. The Company had ordered that both should be reladen and sent back as soon as possible; but this could not be effected from the funds available, and so it was determined to return only the *Lioness*, employing the *Bonito* meanwhile on a voyage to Gombroon. The commander of the *Lioness*, John Brookhaven, was charged with a special mission by the Company, namely that of establishing a factory at Hūglī, in Bengal; and he sailed accordingly on August 28.[1] The Company had contemplated his taking his vessel right up the Hūglī River for this purpose; but before leaving Madras that course was vetoed, on account of the dangerous character of the navigation, and it was settled that the *Lioness* should go no further than Balasore, Brookhaven and the merchants then proceeding to Hūglī in a hired vessel. At Balasore, however, the factors' whole time seems to have been taken up with lading the *Lioness*, and it was not until she was ready to depart (in the middle of December) that preparations were made for proceeding to Hūglī. From the instructions left by Brookhaven with James Bridgman and his colleagues we learn that some correspondence had already passed between the factors and Gabriel Boughton (the English surgeon mentioned in the last volume as being at this time in attendance upon Prince Shujā, the Viceroy of Bengal) and Boughton had promised to use his influence in procuring for the English the necessary trading concession. Bridgman was therefore directed, after visiting Hūglī, to proceed to the Prince's court at Rājmahāl, and there endeavour to obtain a satisfactory grant, giving all necessary facilities for the new settlement. The

[1] With him went William Netlam, who seems to have remained at Balasore during 1648 and 1649, but had come down to Madras at some date prior to August 27, 1650 (p. 313).

rest of the story belongs to the year 1651. An interesting account by Bridgman of the prospects of trade in Bengal will be found at p. 337.

A third venture was made to Pegu in September, 1650, the vessel employed being one especially purchased at Masulipatam for that purpose and named the *Ruby*. On the same day that this ship sailed, the *Dove* arrived at Fort St. George from Bantam; and three months later she was sent back to that place with a good cargo (*O. C.* 2200). This autumn the Fort St. George broker, Venkata, was sent with a present to Mīr Jumla, the Golconda general, at Gandikota; and on the Nawāb expressing a desire to continue the negotiations, it was deemed advisable to dispatch Walter Littleton, accompanied by Venkata, on a further mission to him. They started about the middle of December, 1650, and an account of their experiences will be given in the next volume.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1646-50

President Breton and Messrs. Merry, Thurston, Tash, and Fitch at Swally Marine to the Company, January 3, 1646 (*O. C.* 1970).[1]

Account of the voyage of the *Eagle*, *Falcon*, and *Lanneret* from England.[2] They reached St. Augustine's Bay on July 21, and there found the *William*, commanded by Blackman and bound for England, and also 'Capt. Smart with divers poor people on shore, attended by two ships, the *Sunne* and *James*, weary of their employment and indeed . . . if supplies arived not sudainly, like to be in a deplorable condition.' The fleet then called at Johanna, and reached Swally towards the end of September. Now reply to the letters brought by the ships. Regret to learn that the Agra indigo sent home in 1643 proved so bad. Dare not promise much better success with their later consignments, 'the make of that specie (both at Agra and Ahmudabad) . . . yearly declining in goodness.' Will, however, do their best to improve the quality, 'being very sensible how that specie is one of the chief supporters of your trade.' The Agra indigo sent last year by the *Crispiana* was as good as the country afforded, though they could not praise it highly. 'That of Ahmudabad which accompanied it was part of the round or Agra make, and the last of that forme you are like to receive, it being now again altogither out of use; so that therin we shall easily comply with your injunctions. We cannot deny but it was something inferiour to some round indico formerly sent you; yet we even dispair of remitting you any to equall it hereafter, so infinitly is that species now adulterated and declined in goodnes.' 'We readily submit unto your judgment

[1] Some notes of goods requisitioned in this letter will be found in *O. C.* 1884.

[2] Cf. the log calendared at p. 312 of the previous volume.

and censure of the Agra clothing; it being also here esteemed much inferiour for service unto the cloth of these parts, the yarn and weaving being more hollow and deceitfull, especially such as is there bought white; which indeed cannot be well judged of, by reason of the extraordinary gumming and beating, an art or custome auncienter, we believe, then your trade in these parts.' To prevent these defects, they now buy all such cloth brown, and have it 'cured' at Baroda and Broach. 'Had you no other reasons or inducements to encourage you in the cloth investment at Agra, those which first gave a commencement therto (the scarcity of cloth in these parts) would necessarily oblige you to its continuance; since the want (not your inhibition) of Brodra, Broach, and Nuncery [Nosārī] clothing hath been the occation larger quantities hath not been sent you; for, notwithstanding we must acknowledg the country to be in a much happier condition then when the Agra investments were first set on foot, yet it doth not, nor will in many years, so abound as before the famine, when in Broach 40 or 50 corge of broad and narrow baftaes were procured daily, wheras at present so many peeces without trouble cannot be acquired.' Have sent, in the present cargo, as many as could be procured, and have supplied the deficiency with 'Dereabads and Mercools'. The buyers have been strictly charged to observe the Company's orders as to dimensions and quality; but in the matter of prices it is necessary to 'submit unto the times', and so no limit can be fixed. Have done their best to prevent the pilfering of calicoes from the bales by carefully guarding the latter on the way down to the ships, and will gladly adopt any further precautions the Company may suggest. To detect any substitution of dirt for indigo, they now weigh each bale at 'Raneal' [Rānder] and then again before its embarkation. 'It is not improbable that the quilts you found damnified might become so through the painters neglect, who in haste of business (if they be not very carefully observed and looked unto) slubbers them over very sleightly.' Were glad to hear of the arrival of the *Mary* in England. Much fear that the *Discovery* is lost; and lament 'the *Johns* unfortunate miscarriage'. Caldeira, the Portuguese who embarked in her, got back from Johanna to Mozambique and remained there until last July, when, on the arrival of Courteen's ship *Hester*, the

Governor obliged her commander to give Caldeira a passage to Surat. He arrived on September 28 and made a claim for a large amount in compensation of his alleged losses. Copies of the correspondence with him thereon will be found in the packet; also some related papers, tending to clear the Company from all responsibility. They wrote to the Viceroy, sending other copies, by the *Hester*, which sailed for Goa, with Caldeira on board, on October 16; 'since which we are advized that he and the rest that were interessed in that unfortunate business have wholly let fall their pretences against us, their embassador in England having undertaken its recovery of the King.'[1] Transmit documents on the subject for delivery to the said ambassador, and trust that their trouble in the matter will now have an end. As regards the factors, &c., left at Johanna by Mucknell, they had anticipated the Company's orders by giving employment to such as were judged suitable. Others are now returned by the *Eagle*, including Henry Tyrrell, Henry Wheatley, and Richard Clark, three of the four against whom charges were exhibited at their arrival. A different course has been taken with the fourth, Henry Garry, he having 'in the time of his continuance with us demeaned himself very commendably, which induced us to believe him, in what he stands accused, guilty rather of folly then mallice; he also having exhibited many pregnant testimonies of his abillities and fitnes to serve you, hath been again readmitted into your service, upon the same conditions he came from England.' Tyrrell they have found a very rational, civil, well-governed man. Wheatley 'is become aged in your service', and is unfit for further employment abroad. Note that the Company has been pleased 'still to continue unto us the chief directions and disposure of your Persian affaires'. For events in that country refer to the correspondence enclosed. Pitt and

[1] See *Lisbon Transcripts: Doc. Remett.*, book 56, f. 266, for a letter from the Portuguese ambassador in London, dated in April, 1645 (N.S.), stating that he had applied to King Charles for the restitution of the gold dust belonging to Caldeira, valued at 4,000 *cruzados*, and that the king, in reply, had suggested that his claim should be addressed to the East India Company. To this the ambassador rejoined that the ship and goods had been carried into Bristol and he must therefore look to His Majesty for compensation. Hereupon the king promised inquiry and satisfaction; but the ambassador added that nothing was to be expected from the royal treasury until the civil wars were ended.

Wylde both desire to return to England, being weary of the 'indignities and disrespects frequently offered them' at Gombroon. Have not of late made any purchases of raw silk, 'in regard you were not desirous of any'; but now that the Dutch have procured permission to buy where they please and export it duty-free, an endeavour will be made to obtain similar concessions and, if they succeed, they will send home a small quantity yearly, to keep the Company informed as to its quality and price, 'against such time as you shall think fitting to enlarge your trade therin'. If the desired privileges be obtained, 'it is not improbable but with ready mony good silk may be purchased upon reasonable tearmes, much better in substance then that you formerly received in contract from the King, his ministers abusively enforcing your servants to receive such as themselves pleased, or you must have wanted your returne therin; wherunto most justly may be imputed the defects of that you so much complaine of; it being likely that the comodity is not generally really so declined from its pristine worth and goodness.' In that event, and were larger quantities of Indian and 'Southern' goods sent to Gombroon, there would be no difficulty in finding funds for the purchase of as much silk as the Company might desire; but they must be content with such sales of broadcloth as can be effected at Gombroon, for it is not worth while to take any up to Ispahān. 'For tynn, we conceive these parts supply them cheaper then you can affoard it from England.' 'By your trade thus enlarged, you would also in some measure regain your and the nations reputation; which might we in our daies be eyewitnesses of, we should vallue it a great happines.' Will keep down the expenses in Persia as much as possible. Trust that the *Dolphin* has safely arrived. Though somewhat discouraged by the ill success of the *Supply's* voyage to Achin, they will probably make a further trial of that place during the present year. The trade at Cochin, 'now that the Portugals have peace, will also wholly fail you, neither cinamon, pepper, nor cardamon being at present procurable.' On the other hand, pepper is much declined in price at Rāybāg. Will continue to hinder private trade to the best of their abilities, but plead the many difficulties of detecting it. The inconveniences of their heavy indebtedness consist not only in the

high rate of interest paid, but also in the dependent position in which they are placed as regards their principal creditors. Vīrjī Vōra, to whom 'vast summes' are due, 'aweth us even to what himself pleaseth, much to your dishonour and prejudice, especially in the sale of your coral.' They supplied Andrew Cogan with money solely in the interests of the Company's trade, and have since done the like with Ivy. Voyage of the *Endeavour* to Basra. Thank the Company for sending them the *Falcon* and *Lanneret* for service in these waters; but beg that in addition a larger ship may be constantly employed here for a year at a time, before returning to England, 'by which means your affaires on shoar and smaller shipping at sea wilbe countenanced, these people awed to more respect, a profitable voiage made, besides many other conveniencies theron depending.' Have already sent the *Seaflower* to Bantam, and intend to dispatch the *Hind* thither also, as they are both 'much properer for that then this trade'. Deny that they wished to be rid of them 'because they are not propper for transport of private trade'. Estates of [John ?] Wylde and Walter Clark. As the Company disapproved of their sending in the *Dolphin* a chest belonging to Duarte Fernandez Correa, they will in future refrain from granting such favours. The 60,000 mahmūdīs remitted to England by the *Dolphin* and *Discovery* for account of the First General Voyage 'were included in the generall adventure upon both ships, and not any goods particularly consigned unto those adventurers . . . so that the Stock and Voiage must share, in proportion to their adventures, in the gaines or losse.' The same was done last year with the *Crispiana*. Trust that the Company has approved the increases of salary provisionally sanctioned by President Fremlen, and that it will 'favour us with the like liberty hereafter'. Desire also that the prohibition against taking men ashore may be rescinded. At Basra trade has been so bad that most of the goods sent on the *Seahorse* and *Endeavour* remained unsold at the departure of the latter on September 23. 'Nor can better be expected in the future, since the generall spoil-trade of India, the Dutch, have since their peace with the Portugals learnt the way thither, where they were this last year with two ships full laden. The Portugals will now also resort thither and to all places in greater quantities then formerly, which will cause a great

alteration of trade, as we have already experimented upon the coast of Mallavar.' Do not expect much sale for pepper at Basra. China ware is, however, a good commodity there and also here; so that they anticipate 'a very profitable accompt of the Maccaw voiage'. Part of the consignment of goods carried to Mokha by the *Hind* and *Francis* failed to sell, and Joseph Cross and John Rymell remained behind to dispose of them. 'The profits of that place we cannot expect should be great, the navigation being so facile, which invites yearly a great concourse of jounks thither from all parts. However, something is gained; so that, according to the encouragement you give us, we shall keep both the Bussora trade and it on foote; and, in the latter, endeavour the protection of these jounks, the best your shipping are able, from pilfering men of war, wherwith we have great occation to fear the Red Seas will this next year be infested.' Since their complaints regarding the quality of the money sent out in 1643 were so badly received, they will content themselves in future with advising the amount realised by the sale of the coins. If the ten rials taken home by Fremlen as specimens have been tested, it has doubtless been found that the complaints were well-founded; for here in India four mints (Surat, Ahmadābād, Tatta, and Agra) agree touching their value. 'Other meanes we have also used, wherby we are well assured that you are not defrauded either in the alloi or weight, in which here are exact rules observed. And for your further satisfaction in the future we have delivered the purser, Tomblins, the just poiz of a ryall in these mints, according wherunto yours are exactly weighed; which induceth us to believe that it is something more then the Spanish weights allow, here being constantly a want in weight. What you prescribe unto us touching selecting the course sort of ryals from the rest, it is our annuall practice to sever each stamp by themselves, as will appear by their disposure, they being so sold; but to send the worst either to Goa or the coast of Mallavar, to be there invested, the times now permit not. As for the sherofs piercing holes in the dollars, however unusuall in Europe, it is accustomary in these parts; nor can it be esteemed unreasonable, since the false can by no other means be discovered, and that good silver is due unto them. It is some satisfaction unto us that your course ryals cost in proportion to their vallue; which if your

invoyces (wherin all have the same rate) had sooner published, would have excused the strong doubts which possessed us that, either here or in England, you were injuriously dealt with, and induced us so seriously to endeavour its discovery and prevention here. Of gold species we shal say little, being so little is procurable. Otherwise, we believe it would be more profitable at present then ryals, the 20*s*. peece being now worth 21½ m[ahmūdī]s.' Lead is not in much demand in India, 'yet in better request then in any of these adjacent countries'; have therefore decided to take on shore what was brought by the last fleet and dispose of it here as best they can. Advise that no more be sent for a year or two, in which case they could probably raise the price to 10 mahmūdīs per maund. 'Canary wine is not a comodity in these parts; nor should we have desired any, but in hopes of an open trade unto the Manielies. What the Courtinians brought, we believe, continued in the major part unsold. Mr. Hog in the *Hester*, being plentifully furnished therwith, found not the Portugals in Bacain very desirous of it. In lesse esteem will it be in Goa, where aboundance of all sorts of provisions are since arived. Since Agra was so abundantly supplied with broad cloth overland by Armenians, and the King plentifully furnished with that specie by the death of some of his Umrawes [nobles: *umarā*] (wherof you have been formerly advized), it hath been much disrequested; but we hope will in few yeares recover its pristine esteem and price.' They intend, therefore, to send that now received to Persia, and are keeping it 'on the Marine' for that purpose. The rumour of their intention has already induced the Governor and the Dīwān to purchase 150 covids of 'stamel' [i.e. scarlet] and 400 of green, at 8½ and 9 rupees respectively. For the future 70 or 80 pieces, half of each colour, will suffice for these parts and for Persia; but private trade in this article must at the same time be prevented. 'The velvets and sattens were received very well conditioned, but proved not so good as the curiosity of these people desire. Ten yards of red satten and as many of red velvett we (with other things to the vallue of rup. 570) presented unto this Governor on board your ship *Eagle*, he inviting himself on board to view her. The rest (he being desirous of them) we have sold him, the velvetts at 12 rup. and the sattens at 8 rup. per covid, which is as much or more then they

would have yielded in Agra.' As presents such things are very acceptable; and so are fine knives. Detail their proceedings regarding the sale of coral, and their wishes concerning a future supply. Will advise overland the price obtained for the present consignment. Fear that the coral beads will prove too dear for this market. 'Eliphants teeth are constantly in these parts a staple comodity.' The sorts formerly sent from England are now fetching 30 rupees per maund of 40 seers.[1] 'Our intelligence formerly failed us touching Mr. Courteens ship *William*, which (notwithstanding the evill enterteinment the *Bona Esperance* received from the Dutch in the Streights of Mallacca) went for China, outbraved three or four of the Dutches small ships in his voiage thither, and was so fortunate as to miss a fleet which purposely attended him in his return. But . . . how hot soever they pretend their irons to be in these parts, they have scarcely credit enough to buy clothes to keep their bodies warme, although the climate requires not many.' William Appleton and his wife thank the Company for promising to pay to them whatever is found to be due to the late Leachland. Search has been made in the books here to discover whether anything was owing to him at the time of his death, but without success; suggest therefore that the Company should sanction a small gratuity. For the missing bale of cinnamon Millet and Knipe must be held responsible. Note the Company's instructions as to return cargoes, &c. 'We must confess it was a bould attempt of us to dispose of your shipping unto such remote parts as Maccaw and the Manielies without your especiall license, which we would willingly have attended and gladly have enjoyed for our warrant, but that delaies therin would have been dangerous, especially in that to Maccaw, the Dutch and Portugals being then upon a treaty of peace, which once concluded, we well knew that the Vice Roy (when the trade should be open to the Portugals themselves) could not dispense with ours or any other strangers voiaging thither; which induced us to lay hold of the present opportunity, so fairly offered; wherunto we were encouraged by the confidence we had that a voiage thither for your propper accompt could not prove lesse advantagious then did the *Londons*

[1] 'Which is about 2*s.* per lb.; and in England they will cost 10 and 11*s.* per cwt.' (*marginal note*). In *O. C.* 1884 the latter figure is corrected to '10 or 11*l.*'.

fraighting voiage, wherwith you were yet well pleased. And however the event did not fully answer our expectations, yet (praised be the Almighty) the ship returned in safety; and when that busines is cleared by the sale of her whole carga[zoon] brought thence (a good part wherof yet remaineth), we doubt not but to render a satisfactory accompt therof. In the interim, you may please to take notice that we never expected a continued trade thither, nor were licensed for more then that voiage, which, had we not then embraced, could not now be procured. The voiage unto the Manielies hath no dependance at all or relation unto the Portugals, we well knowing that the Vice Royes power, whilest the Portugals were subject unto the Spaniard, extended not thither, much lesse now that they are at difference; but that it was first grounded upon relations made us by them, and had its chief motion from the hopes they gave us of great profits, we cannot deny. Yet had we other informations also, which confirmed us therin; neither of which have much failed us, the place and trade (might it be freely enjoyed) altogither deserving the commendations we received of it; which encouraged us the passed year, being therunto invited by that Governor and obliged in regard of your servants continuance, to send thither the ship *Supply*, which set sail the 29th of April with a carga[zoon] importing m[ahmūdī]s 128,869; enordered to touch at Acheen, there only to land Mr. John Turner ... and so the ship to proceed to the Manielies; whence we have enordered your factors to return upon her, if the Governor will license their departure, wherof we make some doubt, in regard that Capt. William Cheloan, whom he sent hither to vissit us and treat of such affaires as we formerly advized you, did not return upon the *Supply*, fearing the Dutch might, as questionlesse they would, have taken him out of her in the Streights of Mallacca (so infinitly do they envy the good they conceive may thence arive unto you), but continued with us, to take his passage by way of Bantam to Maccasser and so thither, had the Almighty been so disposed. But his and our designes therin were frustrate, God being pleased to take him out of this world the 20th of August, after 15 daies sicknes. ... But that there may be no misprision on their part, we have taken attestations touching the manner of his death of a Jesuite then lodged in our house, a Caputchion that

lives in Suratt, and some other then present (copies wherof we herewith send you), which we intend to remit thither for the Governor and his friends further satisfaction, with his inventory and what he was possessed of at his decease. Thus having undergone the trouble and hazard of reputation incident to such new undertakings, we with patience (since you are pleased so to enorder it) wave any further thought of sending your shipping thither, but leave the frutes therof to be gathered by whome you shall please to appoint. And because we are doubtfull (as preintimated) whether your servants be come away from thence, we have designed one John Bower, a young man who was there masters mate in the *Seahorse*, to carry our letters and Captaine Cheloans things unto that Governor, with our advices to your factors, by way of Maccasser, in case the President of Bantam send not a ship this year; by which meanes we will hope to procure their return.' Any goods which the Bantam factors may demand from these parts for a voyage thither shall be willingly supplied. Cheloan died indebted to the Company for 596 mahmūdīs lent to him at various times; and this sum has been written off as irrecoverable. Send some accounts relating to the Third Joint Stock, and promise a more complete one shortly. The account of the First General Voyage has been finished and is now enclosed; 'whose credit, the remaines (rated at their reall worth) being carried to the Fourth Joint Stock, amount unto m[ahmūdī]s 44,581 [pice] 16¼, and so much we have interessed that Voiage in this ship the *Eagles* lading; which, with the proportion of profit it may produce, please to make good unto those adventurers, in regard we cannot, without running a great hazard of displeasing either them or you, appoint out unto them any particular goods.' Note the Company's complaints and directions about the packing, &c., of cinnamon; at present, however, it is impossible to procure any of that commodity. They cannot now dispense with any factors. Enclose a list of them [*missing*], which will show that Knipe is at Agra, and could not be called down in time to go by this ship; nor do they desire his removal from his present post, 'he being therunto very well quallified, both in respect of language and other abillities.' It is true that he had intended to return, but his misfortunes have induced him to change his mind. His man Buckner is on board the *Supply*, and will be

sent home next year. Thomas Ratcliff returns in this ship; and so would Thomas Grey have done, had he not been detained at Basra. Thank the Company for allotting them a supply of wine and beer, and for the stores and ammunition for the use of their small shipping; but casks are much wanted, as also compasses and lanterns. 'We have been constantly mindfull to sollicit the recovery of Raw Ruttuns debt, and doubt not in conclusion to bring it to some good effect, Mr. Knipe being therupon at present very intent, and gives us hopes something wilbe received in liew of what hath been expended theron. What effects our presents to the King and Prince wrought we have formerly advized you [*see the previous volume*, p. 230], as also what they retrebuted, part wherof, vizt., the jewel received from the Prince, is sealed up in a box and put into the chest of wrytings. The dagger presented by the King remaineth in the Presidents custody, in regard that it may, upon some occation or other, happely be usefull here.' They made special efforts to detect and seize private trade goods brought by this fleet, especially the coral advised by Bowen to have been shipped in the Downs, but were unable to discover any. Accounts of the sale of goods belonging to Stevens and Tomlins, and of the latter's return investment. 'Mr. Baines, our minister, did not return for England upon the *Dolphin*, as you supposed, but continueth still with us, who esteem ourselves so happy in his doctrine that, whilest he pleaseth to remain, we shall not willingly part with him, he being indeed quallified beyond the ordinary sort of men. Mr. Isaackson also is here at present, unto whom we have delivered the chest of books and box sent out by his father.[1] He being desirous to remain in the country, we intend him to Fort St. George, where he, or one of his faculty, is very much wanted and no less desired.' Have taken care to supply the Bantam factors with goods, and have received from them in return a consignment to the value of 23,303 rials by the *Swan*, which arrived here on September 28. Send particulars of a fresh cargo intended to be dispatched thither by that vessel immediately. 'Upon her also shalbe sent five blacks, bought by the commanders of the *Eagle* and *Falcon* at Joana; which were all they could procure.' Breton gratefully

[1] See *Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1644–49, pp. 76, 77.

acknowledges the Company's favour in confirming him as President, and promises his best endeavours. John Totty, mate of the *Lanneret*, has been made master of the *Seahorse*. Deficiencies in the rials brought by the fleet, partly owing to bad packing, as certified by the masters [*see the previous volume*, p. 295]. The rials were sold at Ahmadābād and Surat for 208¼ rupees the hundred. Having now replied to the Company's letters of March 24, they turn to other matters. They had only prepared sufficient cargo for a vessel of the same size as the *Crispiana*, but find the *Eagle* to be of much greater burden; however, they have filled up the deficiency with pepper. Commend the *Eagle*, especially 'the manner of her contrivance, which renders her in all respects well conditioned, and much more profitable unto you then your former built ships, which were of far greater charge; besides which the reducing of her overlope[1] was happely thought of, your carga-[zoon] therby being much enlarged and private trade declined, that being its usuall receptackle.' With regard to the cargo now sent in her, it includes 630 bales of Agra indigo, of very good quality. Part of it had to be paid for at a dear rate; but, as the price is now high in Persia, they trust that it has also risen in England. Of Ahmadābād indigo they have only forwarded 203 bales, as the quality is 'bad beyond example'; in fact, had they been able to find other lading, they would not have sent home much of this. 'We shall use all possible meanes to procure better hereafter, but have no assurance therof, that place being at present governed by one of these Princes,[2] who we may fear will not be prevailed with to enforce the indico planters to make it of a purer substance; there being no other means to prevail with them. . . . We have this passed year made a full and fruteless experiment of what indico may be annually procured in the upper countries of Sevestan, above Tuttha, wherin Mr. Spiller, Nicholas Screvener, and a broker were near upon four months employed, and have made discovery sufficient to frustrate our expectations of any great quantities; the country and people being very beggarly, as appears

[1] The lowest deck of all. The *Eagle* was built at Blackwall in 1644 by Edward Steevens, the Company's shipwright. It will be seen from p. 21 that her orlop deck was after all enlarged at Surat, on the pretext that the gun deck was pestered with merchandise.

[2] Aurangzeb (see note on p. 253 of the previous volume).

by their investment of six fardles only. . . . The cloth of those parts affoardeth much better encouragement, especially that of Kandara . . . which we are confident will by you be approved for excellent good cloth and very cheap. Of this sort (if a man be purposely emploied in the place) they say four or five hundred corge may be acquired yearly, wherof we shalbe very carefull. The Boobuck[1] cloth is not so good, yet far exceeds that of Nasserpore, which indeed is narrow, course, sleight, and ill conditioned. So that, if those upper countries can furnish your occations with any indifferent quantities, we intend no more of the latter unto you.' The Agra factors last year finished their investments in good time, yet found so much difficulty in procuring carts that they were unable to get their first consignment further than Baroda before the rains set in; as a consequence, some of the calicoes were damaged by wet and had to be 'converted into blew cloth'. The second batch only got as far as Ahmadābād, where, while waiting, they were 'half whited', to save time. As soon as the weather would permit, they were brought on to Broach to be finished off; but it was impossible to complete them all in time for this ship. Particulars of those now sent. Desire the Company's opinion of the baftas procured at 'Matchawara' [*see the previous volume*, p. 204] which, if not suitable for England, will readily vend at Basra, Mokha, and other places. Knipe 'truckt away' some defective broadcloth for a parcel of 'ambertees', three bales of which are now sent home. Have only been able to procure in Surat and Nosārī 14,000 pieces of narrow, and 1,714 pieces of broad, baftas, 'so infinitly barren and inferiour are these unto former times'. Forward a few others from Broach and Baroda; the rest there obtained are being kept for Bantam. Five bales of 'Guyney stuffs' (bought chiefly at Broach) and one of 'tapseels' are sent; also some 'ginghams', and a parcel of 'catchaes' purchased at Tuticorin. Particulars of the pepper and cardamoms now shipped. Intend to continue their investments in Rāybāg pepper, 'it being in England preferred before the best you receive from the South Seas.' Olibanum, myrrh, and gum-lac forwarded; also cotton yarn, bought at Surat and Ahmadābād. The borax formerly purchased has been cleansed and is now sent home. 'Consider-

[1] Būbak, 9 miles west of Sehwān.

ing that China ware may happely be in request in England, now that plate is said to be out of use, we have sent you 20 tubs of that the *Hynd* brought from Maccaw.' Trust that the saltpetre will be found sufficiently refined. The best came from Ahmadābād, and was refined in the factory there. 'We find by experience that our late practice of buying it raw is the cheapest, most certain, and best course to be furnished therwith.' That now sent is packed in raw hides, 'according to the usuall manner', to prevent loss in stowage. William Thurston, who now returns, is commended for his 'eminent and acceptable services'; he will be able to give the Company full information regarding the Macao voyage, in which he was chief. Daniel Elder, who accompanies him, has been for some years second at Tatta and, being 'reasonably well versed in this country language', is recommended for re-employment. Gregory Downs, who came out as steward's mate in the *Crispiana* and last year acted as steward of the Surat factory, now returns as purser's mate of the *Eagle*. William Broadbent, lately master of the *Hind*, who also goes home, is commended for diligence and ability. Robert Tindall is likewise praised and recommended for further employment. Of those that remain in India, George Tash and George Oxenden make suit for higher wages, which they well deserve. Christopher Barnes, formerly steward at Surat, died a few days after the departure of the *Crispiana*; his estate to be paid to his widow. The *Endeavour* was dispatched to Basra on April 15, with a cargo 'importing m[ahmūdī]s 106,559', besides freight goods. The factors at that place have doubtless advised the Company overland of her voyage. In the same month, as already mentioned, the *Supply* sailed for the Manillas. The *Francis* got back from Mokha on September 6, bringing in money and goods 17,249 rials. Oxenden, Hunt, and Goodyear returned in her, leaving Cross and Rymell behind. The *Hind* left Mokha for Tuticorin on August 6. The *Endeavour* quitted Basra on September 23, anchored at Gombroon October 6, sailed a week later, and reached Swally November 5. She brought very little freight, as the factors were disappointed in their expectation of obtaining a quantity at 'Congo'. The vessel has since been repaired in Surat River. The *Seahorse* was dispeeded from Basra on August 28 to meet the *Hind* at Tuticorin. Being much troubled on the way

by calms, she was forced to put into Goa for water and other necessaries, and it was October 19 before she reached her destination, where she found the *Hind* awaiting her. The reasons for their dispatch to that port must now be stated. 'Benidas, your broker, who hath formerly been experienced in those parts, was dispeeded from Suratt the 15th May, to journey unto Tutta Coreen by land; where after a tedious travail he arived towards the beginning of August and, contrary to expectation, found both the Dutch and Portugals very busy there buying cloth, which rendered catchaes not only dear but very scarce, insomuch that, of 600 corge we enordered him to buy, he could not procure more then 264 corge. Sarasses also were very scarce, and no cinamon at all procurable; which perceiving, he sent one of his servants unto the Raja of Pourcatt, with whome he contracted for 6,000 maunds of pepper, of 25 pounds per maund, at 23 rials the candy; on which he gave 1000 rials earnest. And soe, their limited time of stay being expired, the *Hynd* and *Seahorse* left Tutta Coreen the 5th November and went to Pourcatt to receive the said pepper; where two daies after them, Don Phillippe de Mascarenhas, the new Vice Roy, unhappely arived from Ceiloan; who, having notice of what passed, presently raised the price to 25 rials, at which rate he renewed their auncient contract for all the pepper in that place; as he had before done at Coilon [Quilon], and on his way did all the coast along to Cocheen, so obliging and awing those people that no future hopes are left of procuring any of that specie in those parts; of which sufficient experiment was made in that contracted for by Benedas, wherof no more could be procured then 400 maunds, with which poor pittance they set sail from thence the 21th November and arived at Cocheen the 23th, where we had given directions for the buying of cinamon, as we did unto Lewis Riberio in Goa; but there are such severe punnishments and lawes made against those that shalbe known to sell it that no man dare appear to own it; so that your expectations of having more of that comodity are also frustrate. Thus they departed from Cocheen the 25th of November and came to Rajapore, where they received on board 170 gunny of pepper, 200 corge dungarees, and 100 corge gunny[1], and (praised be the

[1] In this passage 'gunny' is used in its double sense of (1) the coarse sacking used for making bags, and (2) the bag itself.

Almighty) arived here the 23th ultimo.' Under instructions from Surat, 5,000 rials were left at Rājāpur to purchase pepper at Rāybāg, where the price was 11½ pagodas per 'gunny'. On the return of the *Falcon* from Sind, the *Lanneret* was dispatched to Gombroon. From that place 'she is enordered to voiage to Swares[1], a port not far distant from thence upon the coast of Arabia, whither we were invited the passed year by that King or Emaun [Imām], with enlarged promises of courteous and respective usage. It is said to vend good quantities of severall sorts of merchandizes, but affoards little to be brought from thence except horses, where report speaks store, and very good, may be procured; which, if true, will exceedingly well accommodate our occations here, nothing being more acceptable unto this King and Prince.' The management of this venture has been entrusted to Philip Wylde (who is anxious to leave Persia), assisted by Samuel Wilton; in lieu of whom John Lewis and Thomas Best were sent to Gombroon in the *Lanneret*. 'We, being very desirous to vindicate our nations honour and recover you plenary satisfaction for your losses susteined by the Mallavars, had once more resolved of sending ships to intercept them in the Red Sea; unto which service the *Falcon* and *Seahors* were appointed, the former to lye at the Bab and the other to ride before Aden. But having received late intelligence, both from the Portugals and others, that the Vice Roy hath inhibited all such of that nation as were quallified therto, to give the Mallavars any passes as formerly, without which it is probable they will not venter to sea, by which means the said ships employment might become fruteless, we have thought fit to decline those former resolutions; being the rather therunto induced, in regard you are not pleased to take any notice of the successe the *Seahorse* had against them in their voiage to Goa before she went for the Manielies.' Intend, therefore, to send the *Falcon* first to Gombroon and then to Achin; while the *Seahorse*, after embarking additional goods at Rājāpur, will proceed to Mokha. 'The *Hynd* and *Endeavour* shall also (if fraight goods be procurable) sail for Gomroon; in whose company we may expect the *Lanorets* return; when the *Endeavour* and *Lanorett* are designed for Bussora, with such clothing, China ware, and pepper as those factors have desired

[1] Sūr, on the coast of Omān (see p. 308 of the last volume).

of us and are by them said to be in most request; but that being too small a proportion to impleat them, what they can more carry shalbe supplied with fraight goods. The *Francis* we were first resolved to send for Persia; and, thence returned, was designed for Madraspatam, to serve upon that coast, being very propper for Bengala, Pegoo, Denaceree [Tenasserim], and other voiages, whither she might be very profitably employed; but fraight goods not yet appearing in any quantities for Gomroon, and Dewcan Vissa [Deo Karan Vaisya], merchant of Cambaiett [Cambay], desiring to fraught her for Savakan [Suakin], in the Red Sea, we have concluded theron, and are come to agreement with him for 8,500 m[ahmūdī]s, on condition that we may for your accompt send six bales of severall sorts of cloth to experiment that market; which indeed hath been a main inducement to the undertaking. And that there may be a full discovery therof, as also to capitulate and enter into conditions with that Bashaw for a future trade (if it be found to deserve it), Joseph Crosse is appointed to voiage upon her; as is Mr. George Oxenden from hence to Mocha, there to take charge of your business. For transport of the Mocha carga-[zoon] . . . the *Supply* (whose arivall we may expect about the fine of February) is intended; from whence we have resolved she shall, about the middle of July, set sail for Madraspatam with 15 or 20,000 rials of eight, which the Agent &c. will against her arivall procure invested into goods propper for Persia, they having of late obteined means to buy goods, payable at ships arivall; by which you will not only advance something considerable in the monies employed to Mocha but save the exchange betwixt this and Messliputtun, which runs very high at present, no lesse then 9 or 10 per cent.; which the passed year, in procuring Ckyratt Ckaun [Khairāt Khān] to transfer what was owing him by the Agent &c. to our debt, we happely saved; which must otherwise have been paid for the 5,000*l.* you enordered us to remit thither in liew of the goods sent upon the *Endeavour* for Persia; yet, that the investment may be the more compleat and better sorted, we are resolved to submit unto the said losse in exchange for 5,000 rials, which shall sudainly be remitted to Messliputtun, there (now in the best season) to be also invested for Gomroon; with which carga[zoon] the ship, being dispeeded sometime in the beginning of September, may

arive here early in November; and so (with expence of very little time more then if she were to come directly from Mocha) do you, we hope, an acceptable peece of service, which we doubt not will animate us in the future to continue the like practice. The Agent &c. of Madraspatam having lately a fair opportunity profered them, by some differences betwixt the Dutch and Mollai [Malaya], their quondam merchant, much to advance your affaires upon that coast . . . . and being in exceeding great want of monies to accomplish their designes, imploring our assistance in furnishing them with 20,000 rials, we have . . . supplied their said necessities by taking up monies of Virge Vora in Goolconda at 1½ per cent. interest untill it be repaid, which we intend again to make good in September next, by sending so much more upon the *Supply* from Mocha then formerly mentioned.' In requital, the Coast factors have offered Surat 300 bales of cloth suitable for Gombroon, but are at a loss how to transport them thither. Have therefore suggested that these goods should be sent on the *Seaflower* (which is due to reach the Coast from Bantam about the beginning of this month), in whose place the *Hind* would be dispatched hence next April to carry from the Coast a return cargo for Bantam. The *Seaflower* would then be sent from Surat to Bantam on her return from Persia. For other Coast affairs, they refer to the enclosed transcripts of letters from the Agent of October 1, the originals of which were forwarded to Bantam upon the *Advice*. 'The *Thomas and John*, belonging unto Mr. Courteen, or rather unto Captain Blackman, who (report saith) laded her, and whom she should the last year have accompanied for England, departing late, was enforced back to Goa, where she wintered, and hath since again left those parts in prosecution of her former intended voiage. Mr. Durson in the *Loialty*, with the expence of two months time at Rawbag and Dabul, procured no more fraight goods then amounted unto 8,702 larrees; upon which despicable tearms, having only for his proprietors a small quantity of sugar, some rice, logs, bambooes, &c., he voiaged to Gomroon, where he arived the 19th May.' Enclose copies of the factors' protest and of Durson's reply. 'From thence he went on as poor an employment for Bussora; of whose proceedings there those factors have undoubtedly advized you. Although Hog in the *Hester* had some-

thing a fairer pretence for his comming hither, we also delivered him a protest and positively inhibited his buying or selling. . . . The other two ships, *James* and *Sunne*, emploied to St. Laurence [Madagascar], weary, we suppose, of that designe, are gone, the former for Rajapore, where your ships *Hynd* and *Seahorse* encountred her, the latter to Persia with logs cut at St. Laurence; wherby is easily apparent their resolutions to molest and disturb your trade; and if with those ships they should come for this place, after the *Eagle* is gone, we should not be able to hinder their reception and enterteinement by this Governor, as we sufficiently experimented at Hogs first arivall, until the Governor perceived our resolutions; wherwith we thus acquaint you, that you may endeavour at home to prevent their injurious practices. There is also arived at Rajapore one Captain Brookhaven, come from Guyney; who (it is reported) from England thither and from thence to Rajapore, with the return, will make a very profitable voiage; having brought means sufficient to lade his ship with pepper and other goods there procurable, but will not trust Agent Farren or Mr. Courtyn[s] servants with any part therof. Nor dare any of the country people bring their goods to port untill they have received monies beforehand, so jealous [i. e. suspicious] are they of them; in which confused condition Mr. Broadbent &c. left them at their departure thence the 5th current.[1] But what will become of them after Brookhaven is gone, or how they intend to dispose of the *Loialty*, *Sunne*, *James*, and *Hester*, being wholly destitute of means, we cannot imagine, but may fear necessity will prompt them unto some unlawfull practice; wherof we have given notice unto the Governor and merchants of this place, who pretend we stand obliged to answer for all our countrimens actions, as at the same time did the Dutch Commandore in behalf of his nation; which we strongly denied, by many arguments pretending our cases to be much different, in respect of the distempers of England, which, however, they will not understand; in which dangerous condition we remain at present; which we recommend unto your further consideration and care, to supply us constantly with one good ship (as you were intended, had the *John* arived in safety unto us) that may in case of necessity protect these people from

[1] December is meant.

such rovers, and consequently secure your servants and estate from the trouble and dammage which, should their shipping by such means miscarry, would inevitably follow.' Enclose copy of a protest sent by Farren at Rājāpur to Broadbent. 'The Dutch, as you have been formerly by land advized, have lately made war against the Persian, but neither assaulted Gomroon nor Ormus (as was supposed they would) nor have done ought but batter a small castle upon Kishme, from whence also with dishonour they were enforced to retreat. And yet, by continuing to infest those parts with their shipping, they have awed the Persian King to graunt them their own desires, which was chiefly that they might buy silk at their pleasures where and of whome they think fitting, without being lyable to pay customes; wherin they have been gratified, as in many other things, the certain relation not yet come to our notice; with which a peace or truce is concluded for two years (longer, it seems, they would not accept it); which hath much augmented their reputations and esteem amongst those people, as also in these parts, whilest our[s], poized in the same ballance, by consequence declines, as lately experimented. We intending the *Francis* unto Gomroon, in company of the *Lannorett*, with fraight goods, before newes came of the busines concluded between them and the Persians, she being [ready?] to receive them and the goods at the customhouse ready to send down, the Commandore,[1] without signifying any thing unto us, acquainted the Governor that their goods might happely be lost and persons imprisoned, in case that the differences continued betwixt them and the Persians; which deterred these people from lading those goods, which afterwards they themselves carried, before they received any other advice; wherby you lost that employment and were not a little dishonored; unto which we can only apply the old remedy, patience, so well known in these parts that it (or rather we in it) are derided; for which, notwithstanding, we have no other salve. The 10th ultimo arived two Dutch ships from Battavia, the *Foulestruss* and *Falconburg*, having spent upwards of three months in the voiage; upon which ships they received upwards of 20,000*l.* in mony, besides large quantities of spices and other goods, the particulars not yet known, not being all landed.

[1] The Dutch chief, Arent Barentszoon.

From Persia also, upon their ship *Overskey*, which arived the 20th, they have received large supplies, insomuch that they profer monies at interest, so prosperous and flourishing are they in all parts. The Portugals also this year have had five ships, and intend to return three; upon one of which the Conde de Averes, late Vice Roy, takes his passage for Portugal. Their difference with the Dutch being termined, they administer little occation of enlargement.' Enclose a list of the prices of goods, which may encourage the Company to send out some quicksilver, vermilion, and elephants' teeth. Intend to dispatch [Robert] Heynes to succeed Wylde at Gombroon. Pitt also proposes to quit Persia by the next shipping returning from Basra. In lieu of Lewis (sent to Gombroon) and of Nicholas Buckeridge[1] (who accompanies Oxenden to Mokha), 'both which assisted the passed year in our wryting office', they have taken on shore from the *Eagle* Henry Young, purser's mate, and Charles Millard, steward's mate; 'which we hope you will please to approve of'. Desire some more brass weights and a couple of steel beams. 'Paper fit for books is much wanting unto your occations, here and in the severall factories; that you usually send out being so thinne that it will not bear inck in the time of raines, wherof we have formerly complained. A ream of such as this, to correspond with our Portugal friends and other uses, we also want'. Enclose letters, &c., from the Dutch factors here, for transmission to Holland. Two bales of indigo have been dropped into the water in transshipping them from the *Falcon* to the *Eagle*, for which the crew of the latter have agreed to pay 280 rupees. At the request of the officers of the *Eagle*, her orlop deck has been enlarged, 'for clearing of the gun deck, which was pestered'. *PS.*—The bale of 'Matchawara' baftas has been left by mistake at 'Raneal'. (37 *pp.* *Received from the* Eagle *May* 28, 1646.[2])

[1] In the Fifteenth Report of the *Historical MSS. Commission*, part ii, an account is given of a volume in the collection of the late Mr. J. E. Hodgkin, containing the papers (1647–69) of this Nicholas Buckeridge, who is stated to have been the younger brother of Bishop Buckeridge. They relate chiefly to mercantile transactions in Persia.

[2] For the list of packet sent by the *Eagle* see *O.C.* 1972. A copy of the commission given to her commander, Thomas Stevens, for the homeward voyage forms *O.C.* 1971.

Anthony Fenn's Account of the Voyage of the *Eagle* from Surat to England (*Marine Records*, vol. lxvii. p. 33).

1646, *January* 3. The President and Council came on board under a salute. *January* 4. They went on shore, and the ship sailed. *January* 27. Saw Johanna, but did not stop there. *February* 25. Anchored in 'Salldena Roade' [i.e. Table Bay]. *February* 27. A Dutch ship, homeward-bound from Batavia, arrived. *March* 3. She sailed. *March* 8. The *Eagle* followed. *March* 24. Saw St. Helena, but the wind prevented their anchoring there. *March* 31. Reached Ascension. *April* 1. Departed, after taking in twenty-two turtles. *May* 9. Saw Flores. *May* 21. Chased a fly-boat wearing 'Turks colours', but failed to overtake it. *May* 23. Off Scilly they spoke with two vessels from Malaga. *May* 24. Saw the Lizard. *May* 27. Anchored in the Downs. *May* 28. Sailed for the Thames. (29½ *pp.*)

President Breton and Messrs. Merry and Tash at Surat to the Company, January 9, 1646 (*O.C.* 1973).[1]

Forward a transcript of their letter of the 3rd, sent by the *Eagle.* A corrected invoice of her cargo is enclosed. Forgot to mention that the *Hopewell* had been broken up. Anthony Perry, a seaman who came out in the *Discovery*, went mad, 'soe that we are enforced to keepe him constantly chained.' They had intended to send him home in the *Eagle*, but 'beeing exceedeinglie enclined to mischeif, espetially to burne all things hee cann gett', they thought it best to keep him here, 'to try what will be the conclusion of his desease.' On January 7 two Dutch ships arrived, viz. the *Nassau* from Batavia, and the *Bergenop*[*Zoom*] from 'Syan' [Siam]. They met at Malacca, and came thence in company. By them was received a letter from Adam Lee, dated June 30, announcing the safe arrival of the *Supply* at that port, and their courteous reception by the Dutch. Evidently the latter do not intend to interfere with English trade to the Manillas, so long as no prohibited goods are carried; and this renews the writers' grief that Bantam should enjoy this commerce and not Surat. Suggest that the Company's decision on this point should be reconsidered. If two ships like the *Dolphin*

[1] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

were sent out, one might be half laden at Surat and sent on to Madraspatam to complete her cargo; and from that place she might prosecute her voyage to the Manillas and return to Surat with a lading of sugar and logwood, which would double, if not treble, the prime cost, 'which advantage, wee beleive, our freinds at Bantam cannot promise unto you, nor a course which way the trade may be more proffitably driven.' The second ship might make a voyage to Persia, and afterwards be sent to Mokha and thence to Madraspatam, carrying to the latter place the necessary money for an investment for the Manillas. Have heard from the Dutch that the *Mary* reached Bantam on September 21. No news has been received from Achin, except that, according to the Dutch, the factors there have a cargo in readiness for the return of the *Supply*. Detail their plans for the smaller shipping this season. It is hoped that this letter will reach Goa in time to be sent to London via Lisbon; if not, it will be forwarded, under cover to the Portuguese ambassador in London, by the first of Courteen's ships sailing from Rājāpur. (*Copy.* $3\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

NOTES OF THE VOYAGES OF THE *FALCON* (*Marine Records*, vol. lxv. p. 97).

1646, *January* 14. Sailed from Swally for Rājāpur. *January* 18. Arrived there. Particulars of goods embarked. *February* 12. Departed. *March* 7. Anchored at Swally. *March* 21. Sailed for Mokha. List of cargo for that place. *June* 23. Sailed from Mokha for the Coast, with 28 passengers, who paid 20 rials of eight per head, besides one per cent. for freight on their money. *July* 28. Reached Fort St. George. *August* 2. Sailed for Masulipatam. *August* 6. Arrived there. Stayed a month at that place and at 'Callipotan' [Calingapatam?], lading rice and 'gingerle'. *September* 19. Returned to Fort St. George. *September* 26. Departed. *October* 3. Reached Masulipatam. List of goods embarked on the Coast; the freight due to the Company for private trade was 2,699*l.*, 'which I belive they never had 400 of.' (3 *pp.*)

Thomas Ivy, Henry Greenhill, and George Travell at Fort St. George to the President and Council at Surat, January 21, 1646 (*O. C.* 1974).[1]

Their last of October 1 advised 'our intention in sending of Mr. Grinhill to the King; who is returned againe, and hath well effected what he went for, which was to have our ould privalidge, with some addition, neiw confirmed by this King, and his letter for the avouchment of the warre betwixt him and the Hollanders and to maintaine us in the buying of such goods as was taken in the warre; all which we have obtained, under the Kings owne hand. Copies thereof, translated out of Jentue into English, goeth herewith for your perusall.'[2] Now reply to two letters received from Surat. Cannot guarantee to keep for them the desired quantity of piece-goods, for the merchants here, after waiting five months for payment, refuse to grant longer credit, and, unless a ship arrives from Bantam within six days, 'we must with shame let goe those goods which wee have soe hardly strougled for'. The failure of supplies from Bantam has upset all their plans. However, with the 10,000 rials remitted from Masulipatam they will provide a good cargo for Bantam; and as this is likely to be larger than the *Seaflower* can carry, they would be glad to have the *Hind* sent them from Surat for the purpose, to arrive here in April. Ivy then intends to depart for Bantam, and to carry with him all the remaining stock; so that Peniston, who succeeds him, is likely to have nothing to do for another twelve months, unless the Surat factors carry out their idea of sending on a ship from Mokha with money for an investment in this place. Peniston has been instructed to return to Surat 'your bill of creditt', when received. Acknowledge with gratitude 'your readines in assisting us therein'. 'We

[1] A copy made at Surat, to accompany the letter to England of March 30. It is poorly done, as shown by the mistakes in proper names, &c. Another copy is among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] See p. 305 of the previous volume. The royal letter mentioned is no longer extant. It is true that the Register of the *O.C.* Series (compiled in 1831) describes No. 1697 as a letter from the King, of the same date as the grant of privileges, 'commanding the Agent to co-operate with Molay against the Dutch at Pulicat'; but that document upon examination has proved to be merely another copy of the 'King's coule', and is so endorsed.

cannot denie your godly motion in sinding of us a minnister heither to assist us in our prayers for better succese.' Having now answered the Surat letters, they will conclude with an account of 'how the warres stand betwixt the King of Vinagar [Vijayanagar] and the Hollanders'. 'Ever since the seige of Pullacatt, which was begune the 12th August last, the King hath bine in warres with the King of Vizapore [Bījāpur] and in civell wares with three of his great Nagues;[1] soe that he to this tyme never had opportunitie to send a considerable foorse aginst Pullacatt, more then 4,000 souldiers that lay before it to stopp the wayes that no goods should goe in or out. And now the King of Gulcondak hath sent his generall, Meir Gumlack [Mīr Jumla], with a great armie to appose this King; who is advance[d] to the Jentues cuntry, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got togeather 50,000 souldiers (as reporte saith), whereof 3,000 he sent for from Pullacatt, to keepe the Mores from intrenching upon this Kings cuntry. Soe their is now remainning before Pullacatt but one thousand; of which the Dutch made noe esteeme of, but, thinking by a project to cut them all of and to bring in one of the Kings great artilliry, which is as much as 500 men can well draw into Pullicatt; soe in an evening, 20 dayes sence, sallied out with 200 Hollanders [and] 500 musteezaes, to cut of those 1000 Jentues and to bring the Kings great gunn into Pullacat. Butt hee that first putt his hand upon the gunn (which was an English man that servd the Duch) left his life there, and 29 Hollanders more, besides 12 musteezaes; and 8 Hollanders more in there flight was soe wounded they died in five dayes after they gott into Pullacat; and the captaine that ledd the 700 Hollanders and musteezaies hardly s[c]apped, being struck with a lance upon one of his buttons, which saved his life, but shrowdly wounded.[2] Soe the warre continueth still betwex[t the King] and the Hollanders; and without there payment of

[1] Among the *Hague Transcripts* at the India Office (series i. vol. xv. no. 484) is an interesting diary kept at Pulicat at this time. According to this the three rebellious Nāyaks were those of Tanjore, Madura, and 'Sinsier' [Gingī?], who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December, 1645. It also says that the English had sent a mission to court with a present of about 1,000 *pardaos* in spices, looking-glasses, &c., and had promised at the King's request to buy the goods taken from the Dutch. In return they had asked for a confirmation of their previous *qaul*, and this had been granted.

[2] For a Dutch account of this skirmish, which occurred on December 26, see the document quoted in the previous note.

60,000 rialls of eight, the King will not heere of any peece.' (*Copy.* $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

MESSRS. IVY, GREENHILL, AND TRAVELL AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, FEBRUARY 10, 1646 (*O. C.* 1975).[1]

Forward a copy of their letter of January 21, which will sufficiently show the depressed state of trade here, for want of supplies from Bantam. Credit to be given for some China ware shipped by Olton from Bengal to Persia in the *Endeavour*. 'This countrey is at present full of warrs and troubles, for the King and three of his Nagues are at varience, and the King of Vizapoores armie is come into this cuntry on the one side and the King of Gulcondah uppon the other, both against this King. The Meir Jumlah is Generall for the King of Gulcondah, whoe hath allreadie taken three of the Kings castles, whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in this kingdome;[2] where Molay was sent to keepe it, but in a short tyme surrendered it unto the Meir Jumlah, uppon compossition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free; but how hee will be received by the King we shall advise you by the next, for this newes came unto us but yesterday.' At present they have neither ship nor boat to secure the Company's estate, and they beg that a vessel may be sent without delay. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

ANDREW TRUMBALL AND THOMAS CHAMBERS IN JAITĀPUR ROAD TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 11, 1646 (*O. C.* 1976).[3]

Wrote last on the 6th present, acquainting them that the *Falcon* had reached this road. They departed from Swally on January 15, leaving there the *Hind*. The *Swan* was to set sail for Bantam two days after them; and the *Endeavour* was taking in her lading for Gombroon, from which place the *Lanneret* was expected to arrive shortly. In this road were found four of Courteen's ships, viz.

[1] Another copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] In the Dutch document already quoted this fort is called 'Oudegiere' [Udayagiri?]. Its situation is not known. It could hardly be the place of that name in Nellore district, as this would be too far north.

[3] There is a copy of this letter under the same number; while a second copy (undated) has been wrongly placed under *O.C.* 1666.

the *Loyalty*, *Sun*, *Hester*, and *Lioness*. Mr. Durson in the first-named had been to Persia and Basra, but carried chiefly private goods, 'the people here being not soe charitable as to trust them with any' on freight. He has now gone home 'with Rajapore stones to ballast him, a ladeing not usuall to transport from hence to Urop.' Mr. Hogg in the *Hester* has been disappointed of a lading of saltpetre promised by João da Maya, and has now departed for England with a cargo not amounting to 2,000 dollars. Mr. Spencer in the *Sun* is bound for Persia with freight goods, which will not produce as much as 1,500 dollars. Mr. Brookhaven in the *Lioness* brought from England a stock of 2,500*l.* in goods, which he sold at the Gold Coast to great profit, producing about 6,000*l.* in gold. 'Those in the Esquires imployment at his plantation on Malagascar have endeavoured (whether by his consent or noe we know not) to rayse his low ebb of trade by setting a mint on worke in that place, coyneing there both[1] gould and silver, haveing here there factors to passe the same for currant in all places of India where they have to doe; wherewith they have deceived many of theise people.' Among the latter is 'Benedas', the Company's broker, who took a number of brass pagodas from John Barrie, surgeon in the *Hester*; and, as Barrie came out in the Company's service, the bad money has been sent to Mr. Young, the Purser-General, in the hope that he will stop the amount out of Barrie's wages. They are now about to sail for Surat. (2 *pp.* *Seal.*[2])

Philip Wylde and Samuel Wilton, on board the *Lanneret* near Ormus, to [the President and Council at Surat], February 19, 1646 (*O.C.* 1978).[3]

Sailed from Gombroon on January 13, and six days later reached 'Bunder Swar'. Their draft articles of agreement were forwarded to the King, who replied that he was sending down merchants to buy their goods and his 'Visseer' [*Wazīr*] with full power to conclude an agreement. These duly arrived, and the articles were sealed. It was found, however, that the merchants

[1] The two copies add 'counterfeit'.

[2] Trumball's seal—a three-masted ship, with AT above it.

[3] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

had no money and expected to be allowed some months' credit, 'promiseing in barter thereof sugar, horses, and dry dates, pretendeing they suppossed wee would [make?] a setled residence there.' Hereupon the factors re-embarked their goods, and departed on February 16. The Wazīr expressed great regret, and 'hoped that the next monsone wee would send a shipp to Bunder Seepp[1], being one of the Kings ports neere his residence Emaun; where all things the countrey affoards may be procured at the season of the year, as allsoe such goods as hee hath prescribed are thear vendible commodities.' On January 29 they received a letter from 'the Generall of Musckatt', inviting them to sell their goods at that port and 'admireing at our comeing to Swar, sayeing the Portugall nation had the trade of those parts 130 yeares, allthough of late expelled from thence.' In reply they thanked him, but declared that they must follow the instructions laid down at Surat. Enclose 'the King of Swares two letters' and one from the Wazīr; also the articles agreed upon.[2] This brief account is sent in consequence of their meeting the *Endeavour*, bound for Surat. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

John Spiller, Henry Garry, and Gilbert Harrison at Tatta to the President and Council at Surat, February 21, 1646 (*O. C.* 1980).[3]

Note the criticisms passed at Surat on their recent purchases. As regards the 'Khandearah' [Kandiāro] cloth, they took pains to secure that it was of proper dimensions, 'for its breadth was much declined'. This year they cannot expect more than 300 corge, 'for the place is very small'; and so to make good the deficiency they have instructed Nicholas Scrivener to purchase a quantity of Nasarpur cloth. 'Tis most certaine that, so long as the dyers of this place goe unto Sevestaun[4] to buy indico, giveing so much therefore and

[1] Bandar Sīb, about 30 miles west of Muskat. By 'Emaun' is apparently meant Rastāk (about 55 miles SW. of Sīb), as that place became the capital of Omān in 1624 (Badger's *Imams and Seyyids of Omān*, p. xxi).

[2] According to the Register (compiled in 1831) these should form *O.C.* 1977; but that number is now missing from the collection.

[3] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[4] Sīwastān, the district round Sehwān.

refuseing non that comes to there hands, wee shall not doe much good out ; but this yeare (as in our last advized) we hope [we] shall not be troubled with many of them, being theyr indico lyes on theyr hands ; and then there is noe feare of such and soe good indico as formerly went home. For, notwithstanding its hard, stony substance (which was allwayes soe), it is now sould (the best) within 10 rupees the maund of Byana, and preferd by these dyers before Amadavad, which they say looke[s] well to the eye but in dyeing is not to be compared to the best of this heare ; for not long since they had experience of a greate parcell that came from Amadavad, when in this place [it ?] was not to be gott, for by reasone of bad governours the indico townes aboute Sevestaun were almost quite ruined ; which of late by our meanes are somwhat recovered againe, and will be more. Amonge the indico now sent was two bales of a sort newly made in Behrallah (a small towne hard by Derbela) for a muster. This the dyers say proves as good, if not better (tho much harder) then Boobuck indico, and heere at present sells well ; as doth that likewise made in Sunne before any.' Request instructions whether any shall be bought. The goods they provided for Persia, especially the 'Meanaes' and 'Adputtaes', cannot now be bought in any quantity, owing to the dearness and scarcity of silk ; trust therefore that they have found a ready sale. Will make in due season the investments ordered for Persia and Basra ; but, for the reasons already given, very few 'Meanaes' or 'Lackees' are being made. As regards cotton goods there will be no difficulty. It will probably prove cheaper to buy here than to go up country for the purpose, 'in regard of the greate charges'. As, however, the Persia investment cannot be put in hand yet awhile, they intend to go all together up into the country and investigate matters. At Nasarpur they will await instructions before making any purchases. That place lies very convenient 'for us to supply it uppon all occations ; whereas unto Khandierah wee must carry as much as wee intend to invest with us, the wayes being so obnoxious to dainger ; and that to be in new rupees, which many times are not heere to be gott ; which, allthough so, when come there will not pass untill translated into pice, which last yeare much hindered us.' Wrote on the 13th instant to Scrivener at Nasarpur, directing him to proceed as quickly as possible to 'Khandierah' ; but no reply has yet been received.

'Some few dayes since arived a vessell of the Princes from Congo, whoe came to rights[1] from thence (and did not touch at Muscatt at all) in a very short space; whoe brought newes that a vessell of the Hollanders[2], richly laden with there owne and merchants goods, bound from Bussora somewhere, was fired in the river of Bussora, against a place called Alleh-Medoan; occationd, as these merchants say (some of which had much mony in hir), by the fireing of ordinance. How it was wee know not; but one and all sayes the shipp is burnt for certaine, and twas likewise uppon a greate day.' This instant has arrived a letter from Scrivener, with patterns of cloth which, though somewhat dear and not so well made as is desirable, are still much better than last year's; 'and there is noe doubt but very sudainly boath the afforesaid defects will be mended, in regard the weavers are willing to worke; which is because there is noe buyers, or very fewe; which if it soe continue, wee are like to doe a greate deale of good out this yeare in that place.' (*Copy.* $3\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

Henry Olton at Masulipatam to the President and Council at Surat, February 23, 1646 (*O. C.* 1981).[3]

It is now above a year and a half that he has 'groaned under the most insupportable burthen of this Agents displeasure and sharpe censure'; and he desires to vindicate himself against certain charges brought against him in recent letters. As regards the allegation that he left the Bay in disobedience to orders, he justifies his action by citing a letter from Bantam of October 18, 1644 [*not extant*], ordering that he should succeed Ivy as Agent on the Coast, and that the latter should leave by August 1; whereupon 'I fitted my selfe against that time for the Fort'. The next charge relates to the loss caused by his consequent absence from his post when the *Seaflower* arrived. To this he answers that he had been advised both from Bantam and Madraspatam that 'there was noe vessell of the Companies to bee expected this year in the Bay; and therefore they ordered mee, with our masters poore estate there, to be transported

[1] i.e. direct. This sense is now obsolete.

[2] The *Schelvisch*, one of the two vessels sent to Basra in the preceding summer: see a note on p. 274 of the 1642–45 volume. Mr. Hotz, in the work there mentioned, quotes (p. 17) a letter from Sarcerius, giving an account of the disaster.

[3] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

on a Messlapatam jounck for this place. . . . I am sure it hath [had ?] been to the dishonner and prejudice of our respective Company for mee unnecessarily to have stayd longer there, whenas wee owed 103 rupees to our broaker for defraying petty expences afore my departure, and had nothing sent or to bee hoped for, more then 656 rupees I had of Mr. Greenhills in my hands, which discharged the former debt, and the rest delivered to William Netlam to pay that broker his yeares wages at 300 rupees and the rest to relive him and servants till further supply. Besides, our affaires were at that disesteem that wee could not borrow 500 rupees in the towne, much less in the countrey.' Denies that he kept back his accounts; they were sent by the next conveyance after they were demanded. He is blamed for omitting to advise a parcel of China ware shipped on the *Endeavour*; but this was put on board by Robert Hatch at another port after the ship left Balasore, and the fault should be imputed to Hatch, 'though I am thought the more portable creature for that burthen.' Begs that these explanations may be transmitted to the Company at the same time as the accusation. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

George Tash and Hugh Fenn at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, March 19, 1646 (*O. C.* 1982).[1]

Have now made a start with the purchase of indigo. 'We have often advised to you how strict our Princes injunctions were [to] the indico men in prohibiting them the sophistication of theire indicoe; which wee finde to have produced so good effects that for what wee have yett seene, in the rury[2] espetially, wee cannot desire it of a more purer substance.' The price is correspondingly high, and it was not until yesterday that they could hear of a lower price than 23½ or 24 rupees per maund; then they bought a parcel of excellent indigo from their old merchant, Abdul Latīf, at 22½ rupees net. Of this they send a sample and request speedy instructions whether they may buy more at the same price. The Dutch are doing little, and are not likely to be serious competitors. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

[1] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates.*

[2] Subsequent references suggest that 'rury' (probably the Hind. *rewrī*) was the term used for what the factors called 'flat' indigo, i.e. that moulded into flat cakes instead of balls.

The East India Company to the President and Council at Surat, March 26, 1646 (*Letter Books*, vol. i. p. 176).

Their last letter, dated October 31, 1645 [*not extant*], was sent overland to Leghorn and thence by sea to Scanderoon for Aleppo, to be forwarded to Basra; now enclose a copy. The Surat letter of March 31, 1645, was received overland on December 18; but the promised accounts did not accompany it, 'at which wee doe not a litle marvaile'. The packet addressed to the King of Spain was duly delivered to the Spanish Agent in London. Acknowledge also the receipt of Knipe's narrative of Mucknell's treachery in running away with the *John*. Cannot tell how to recoup themselves for the losses thus caused. The vessel has since been wrecked, and Mucknell has disappeared. 'Only our corrall which was aboard hir, beeing a commodity not well knowne nor at all vendible in Bristoll, it was there landed and remained untill the retakeing of that cittie by the Parliaments forces; so that wee have regained (with summe charge) that which was before accounted a losse; which beeing come to our hands, wee are furnished with a good parcell of that commodity.' Express surprise that Knipe should have been sent to so remote a station as Agra. It was never the Company's intention that he should be employed in India for any length of time at so high a salary; and in their letter of March 24, 1645, they ordered that he, together with Buckner and any other servants of his, should be sent back to England at once. Apparently this intention has been defeated by his appointment to Agra, where the business might well have been carried on by a factor at half his salary. Indigo 'is become so disrespected a commodity in all these parts of Europe that it is not worth the bringing from India, especially if great care bee not taken in its choice'; for, concurrently with the rise in the cost in India there has been at home a decline in the price to 4*s.* per lb. for the Lahore indigo and 3*s.* 4*d.* for the Sarkhej kind. Moreover, the last consignment was found to 'abound with dust and white sand', to an unprecedented extent. 'All these things considered, you will find litle encouragement (and lesse commendacions) for the receiveing of Mr. Knipe into so great favour (on which hee much presumed before he came unto you) as presently to give him such imploy-

ment on his owne beare relation of the busines betweene him and Mucknell; in which, if hee had but used moderation and judgment, things might have bin better carried and wee susteyned lesse damage then hath come unto us.' Cannot understand why, on Knipe's recriminatory charges against Garry and others, their wages should have been suspended and they ordered home; 'if you had done the like by him, there had bin noe partiallity.' (4 *pp.* *The rest is wanting.*)

President Breton and Messrs. Merry and Fitch at Swally Marine to the Company, March 30, 1646 (*O.C.* 1984).[1]

As regards investments for England, Knipe has sent down from Agra 403 bales of indigo, bought at a little under 40 rupees per maund. 'In Ahmudabad, upon ours and other merchants complaints unto the Prince of the abuse in the false and adulterated make of indico there the passed year, he hath given very strict command to have it made pure and good; which the owners therof dare not disobay, although with much unwillingnes they submit therunto; which hath rendered them so backward therin that as yet there is but little made or procurable, the proprietors continuing it in the leaf rather then to make it ready for sale, pretending they shalbe losers therby.' Tash and the other factors there, being ordered to buy some for Basra, were obliged to pay 22½ rupees per maund; and they report that, in their opinion, 'the indico planters are not gainers at 20 rupees per maund.' However, it is hoped before long to be able to purchase at a more reasonable rate. The indigo procured from Sind has not answered expectations, either in goodness or in price; and it is moreover scarce. Still, Spiller and his colleagues hold out hopes of an improvement this year. Expect a consignment of calicoes from Agra shortly; these are to be bleached at Broach. The narrow baftas already purchased in Surat, Broach, and Nosārī are intended for Achin; but they are about to begin to buy for England. Of broad baftas no considerable quantity can be obtained, 'there being very few weavers which apply themselves to the making of that sort of

[1] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

cloth.' Sent by the *Eagle* some 'Ckandarha narrow baftaes', which are likely to 'give you best content, both in price and goodnes'. Have ordered Spiller to buy as much as possible and hope 'hereafter, by keeping a constant residency there, to enlarge that investment'. Provision of cotton yarn, Guinea stuffs, and drugs (from Mokha). Pepper is rather dearer at Rāybāg than last year, but they intend to buy 500 or 600 'gunny': also 100 bags of cardamoms. All these goods should provide a full cargo for one ship in December next. 'Only we find an unexpected impediment in the saltpeter provided raw, to be refined (as the passed year) in Ahmudabad; which being about a month since arived from Malpore, when it should have been brought unto your house, the Prince (very superstitious) possessed by some of his churchmen that it is not lawfull for him to suffer us to export that specie, which peradventure may be employed against Moores, he hath strictly inhibited its delivery unto us, notwithstanding it is more then the moiety paid for; nor as yet, by all the means we can use, have we any hopes of its releasement. And if we seek redress from the King, it is a question whether his mandats wilbe obeyed; besides he, being at present at Lahore, is so far distant from hence that we have no hopes, considering the Court delaies, to procure his warrant for its delivery in time to have it refined to be sent you by the next ship. So that, to supply this defect, we fear we shalbe enforced to make provision therof in Rawbag; and whether we shall there procure it so well refined we are doubtfull.' On January 14, there being no demand for freight to Gombroon ('the caffilaes not being arived'), the *Falcon* was sent to Rājāpur instead, to fetch pepper, 'dungarees', and 'cussumba' [*see the previous volume*, p. 136]; she returned on March 7. On January 17 the *Swan* and the *Endeavour* sailed from Swally, the former for Bantam and the latter for Gombroon. The *Hind* and the *Seahorse* followed on February 17, bound likewise for Gombroon and laden chiefly with freight goods. With them departed the *Francis* and the *Prosperous* for Mokha, where the latter is to be sold, while the *Francis* proceeds on her freight voyage to 'Savakan' [Suakin]. George Oxenden and Nicholas Buckeridge took passage in her to Mokha; from which place Cross is to go with her to Suakin, to inquire into the trade there. The *Endeavour* returned

from Persia on March 8, bringing a letter from the factors on the *Lanneret* (which she met on the way), relating their disappointment at Sūr, 'it being a poor beggerly place'. The *Lanneret* herself appeared on March 16, having left all her goods at Gombroon; and on March 21 she and the *Falcon* were dispatched to Mokha. From thence the latter is to proceed to the Coromandel Coast, as soon as Oxenden can procure 25,000 rials of eight to send in her. The *Lanneret* will remain at Mokha, to bring back the factors in due course. The *Endeavour* is now about to sail for Basra. The *Supply*, on her return from Manilla, will be sent to Achin; while the *Hind* and the *Seahorse* are to go to Madraspatam and Basra respectively. They hear from the Hollanders that the *Supply* reached Manilla on July 23 or 24, and found off the port six Dutch ships. This fleet, they understand, from thence went for Tywan [Formosa]. 'Upon that coast they met not with any Spaniards, but took a China jounk of some vallue, as themselves say.' The broadcloth sent to Persia in the *Endeavour* sold readily, though at a poor price; yet few of the other goods were disposed of, 'the markets being very dead'. The Dutch have been offered silk at Ispahān at 36 tūmāns a load, but have refused to buy any unless it be brought down to Gombroon, 'not doubting but to make the Persians submit unto what themselves please; but we believe their expectations wilbe frustrate. And yet (to speak truth) with the nothing they have done the Persian stands in so great awe of them that they are not denied any thing they demand. Mr. Pitt &c. have promised to use their utmost dilligence at their return to Spahan in procuring the same priviledg in buying silk the Dutch enjoy; which if they can obtein, we doubt not but it will induce you to revive that trade; since, bought at those prices, it will return to very considerable profit.' The Basra factors will advise the Company direct of how matters stand there. Letters received from them, dated December 29, announced that they had sold goods to the value of 22,986 rials of eight. It was fortunate that they put none of this on board the Dutch *Schelvisch*, which was destroyed by fire when about to depart. The fair hopes entertained by the Coast factors of profitable trade have been frustrated by the non-arrival of the *Seaflower* from Bantam. A letter of credit for 20,000 rials of eight was sent them from Surat, but it

was conditional on their forwarding the 300 bales of goods they promised for Persia; and, as no ship was available on the Coast for the transport of these, the letter has been returned, 'insomuch that their credits is exceedingly impared'. The letter has now been sent again to them, with directions to use the money (and 5,000 rials more which they may borrow) in providing a cargo for the *Falcon* on her arrival from Mokha. The coral brought to Surat by the *Eagle* was offered to Vīrjī Vōra, 'our constant quondam merchant'; but he refused it on the ground that he has large quantities on hand, 'pretending also (as it is very true) that Decan and those adjacent countries are aboundantly supplied from Goa, and that other merchants of this place have received some quantity of coral from Mocha; but chiefly, we believe, because he cannot (as formerly) engrosse all into his own hands.' Have now, however, succeeded in selling the lot to the Company's shroff, Tulsī Dās. The coral beads are 'exceedingly well liked, but so dear that no man dares venture upon them; rendered so (we conceive) by the extraordinary charge of their making, wheras in these parts those artificers labour for little, and of the coral they buy of us make beads which, being cheap, are of readier vend then these'. It is to be expected that the Portuguese will now yearly bring large quantities of coral; but the quantity formerly specified may still be sent, provided that it is chiefly of the finer quality. The lead is for the most part still on hand, though they are negotiating with the Governor for its purchase. Some broadcloth sold to the King's Dīwān has been thrown back on the factors' hands owing to his having been displaced; but, being mostly greens, they will readily vend in Agra. 'The Dutch have not this year had any shipping from Tywan arived to this port. Only one came to Vingurla, whither the *Burgemipsome* was sent to meet her; which returned with only 2,000 maunds of tutinagle and some quantity of logwood. Plate [i.e. silver] they have not received any; nor need they, Persia and the product of goods sold here having so aboundantly furnished them that they still profer to lend mony at interest. They have here at present only the *Nassaw*, lading for Battavia; besides which they expect the *Ostrig* from Persia, to carry away the remainder of their goods; which will give a period unto their affaires in this place untill the suc-

ceeding monsoon.' In February the Portuguese dispatched two galleons from Goa for Lisbon, and it was intended to send away a third towards the middle of the present month. 'The new Vice Roy, since his enterance into place, hath already taken notice of an extraordinary abuse in the customes due by these Mores unto the Portugals upon goods laden upon Moores shipping, which for many passed yeares hath been neglected; wherof he now intends to take a strict accompt, and hath begun by inhibiting the Captaines of Dio and Damon to give them any more passes; which inhibition came when many of their ships were lading for Persia; wherupon, not daring to venture them to sea without passes, they have againe unladen and returned them into the river untill they see what wilbe the issue therof. In the interim they are very fearfull (not without good reason) that the Portuges, now they are at peace with us and the Dutch, will hold them, as they have done formerly, to very rigerous tearms. If they persist as they begin, few years will ruine the Moores shipping; wherby trade wilbe much improved in these parts.' The *Falcon*, on reaching Rājāpur (January 18), found there three of Courteen's ships, viz. the *Hester*, *Loyalty*, and *Lioness*. The two former, in bad condition, were awaiting cargoes for England. The *Hester*, partly laden, set sail on February 2 for Kārwār, intending to purchase some pepper there and then proceed home. Durson, in the *Loyalty*, could procure nothing at all; and, 'after great difference with the Agent' [Farren], departed on February 7 for Goa, intending, if he could not get freight there, to invest 800*l.* of his own in pepper at Kārwār and then make for England. Brookhaven, the captain of the *Lioness*, was said to have 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.* in gold (brought from Guinea), but was perplexed how to invest it, 'not daring to trust the Agent therwith, fearing he should dispose of it to satisfy Mr. Curteens engagements, which himself acknowledgeth to be upwards of 5,000*l.*' If, therefore, he starts for England this year, it will probably be very late. Not long after the *Falcon's* arrival, Spencer in the *Sun* reached Rājāpur from Dābhol; he intended to make a voyage to Persia with some rice and a few freight goods. Of the *James*, which was to proceed from Madagascar to Persia, nothing had been heard up to March 1. 'We have often wondered at Mr. Curteens project in sending so

many empty ships into India ; but it may now be doubted he intended to have them returned with goods bought with monies of his own stamping. At least themselves acknowledg he hath emploied a man to St. Laurence expert therin, who, for want of purer mettall, is fallen to making of fals monies, pagodaes and ryals, wherwith they have abused many, and amongst others the *Hynds* company, as she touched at Rajapore, comming up from Tutta Coreen, were cozened with upwards of 300 pago[das], received at 1½ ryals per piece, but worth nothing; of which busines Mr. Trumbul, who was there since an eyewitnes of other their dishonest accions, hath given you an accompt [*see* p. 26]. . . . Two of the pago[das] we have also thought fitting to present you with, that in them you may see how infamous they have rendered our nation by their dishonest dealings. Indeed, so great a dishonour in these parts never befell us, who (although innocent, abhominating their proceedings) are sharers in the disgrace, which will, wherever it is known, become nationall.' Enclose a copy of a letter just received from the Coast [*see* p. 26], from which it will be seen that the *Seaflower* had not then arrived. Also forward a letter from Olton [*see* p. 30]. (11¼ *pp. Received overland January* 11, 1647.[1])

John Farren at Rājāpur to Captain John Smart in Madagascar[2], April 8, 1646 (*O.C.* 1986).

Received his letter of August 18 on October 1, 1645, from Spencer, 'whose arriveall in these parts with shipp *Sunn*, emptie, gave much discouragment to our great expectacions, being runn deepely on credit and nothing apparreing towards the disengagements [of?] our debts of fower yeares continewance at 13½ per cent. per annum interest; or can it bee imagined the Esquire [i.e. Courteen] shall ever thrive by such courses. In my oppinion it is the way to sinck him. Assuredly, hadd hee wholly applied himselfe to make good his India trade with a considerable stock, it

[1] For the list of packet accompanying this letter see *O.C.* 1770 ; also *O.C.* 1985, which is a transcript sent later.

[2] The letter is addressed to Smart as 'Governour of the English Plantation on the Island of Madagascar', and noted as sent by the *Lioness*. Farren was, of course, Courteen's chief agent in India. For Smart's abortive attempt to found a settlement in Madagascar, see my article in the *English Historical Review* for April, 1912.

would have prooved the most advantagious way of benniffitt in these sadd times; besides, ever since my comeing into the country, comodities have beene at much lower rates then useall. All which induceinge reasons I have prest to the Esquire with large informacion, and humbly besought him to consider how himselfe, as wee his servants, in want of imployment were exposed to the laughter of our enemies, whose gaine consists in our ruine; yet, contrarie to advise, hee waves these affaires and falls upon new projects, which in all mens judgments points to inevitable loss. I presume yourselfe erre this too well knowing in such undertakeings; besides, designes of that nature were most proper to a Company rather then a particuler man.' Hears that Smart is discontented with his employment. 'It is noe less my case, here liveing with a broode of vippers (I meane such of our owne nation). A little patience and I hope to bee quitt of them.' Has given his best assistance towards securing freight for Persia for the *Sun*; but she departed so late that it is doubtful whether she can be back before the winter. In that case her master must endeavour to get a freight from Gombroon to Sind, and return hither at the beginning of the monsoon to lade for England (if she has any stock). Praises Spencer; 'but that swine Hogg is a most unsufferable monster', and there are others like him. 'The *Loyaltie*, a fraughted shipp, bringing nothing into the country or gaineing uppon fraught (whereby a hope of reladeing), wee, in want of mony or credit, [were?] constrain'd to returne hir as came out, soley emptie. Her comaunder, John Durson, a most pestiphorus spirrit. . . . In our desperate estate, both hee and others take freedome to abuse us without controule. I am verry sensible and truly sorrowfull to thincke the dammadge and disgrace will befall the Esquire; but God knowes, soe farr from meanes of helpe, that wee lye daylie at the mercy of our creditors here, whose patience hath beene most insufferabley abus'd. Had wee to doe with Christians, wee neyther should or could presume uppon the like favor.' The bearer, John Brookhaven, is 'a man of good temper and verie rationall'. Forwards a bale or two of decayed cloth 'to cloath your people'; also eight bags of beads. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

The Factors at Basra to the Company, April 13, 1646 (*O.C.* 1987).

Three days ago they received from Aleppo a packet of letters from the Company for transmission to Surat; these, as no ship is available, will be sent overland to Gombroon and thence in the same way to 'Scinda'. Now forward copies of their own letters to Surat, with a list of goods sold since the departure of the ship. 'Never was tradeing worse in these parts; and at present many sorts sould for 10 and 15 per cent. lesse then mentioned in the list, and but few buyers at those under rates. In February and since hath arrived to this port upwards of 2,000 bales of Scinda clotheing, and double that quantety shortly expected; in so much that these merchants will find but little bennifitt. The 31th December the *Scalefish* of the Dutches sett sayle for Gumbroone; but in saluteing the towne, by the breach [i.e. breaking] of a peece of or[d]nance, fired their shipp, which was deepe laden with severall sorts of Bengala cloatheing and China ware which would not vend heere. The time of moonzoan and three months in the winter out of boath their shipps carga[zoons] they sould for noe more then 36,000 rials of eight. There loss of shipp and goods was computated to bee worth 100,000 rials; 18 of theire cheiffest men were extrordinaryly burnt; besides 33 other saylers &c. wee entertayned in your howse; otherwise many of them might have perrished, for in this place the Moores would have had but little pitty or compassion on them.' News from Gombroon. 'The Dutch, by report of divers merchants in this place, have two shipps arrived in Persia from India, full laden with severall sorts [of] merchandizes, but have landed nothing at Gumbroone. Larrack, these people say, they make theire place of rendavoze; where they have built a large seroy [i.e. caravanserai] to disimbarque theire owne and other merchants goods. Sume report they have built a small castle on the said iland of Larrack, and that of late thay have drawne off all their factors &c. which were in Spahaune and Gumbroone. Not any Moors juncks or vessells arrived this yeare in Persia, for feare the Dutch should force them to pay custome at Larrack or otherwise not suffer them to goe to Gumbroone. . . . Wee doubt they intend most of their goods for this port; wheare they will not

a little hinder your affaires, in case they arrive first.' (*Copy.* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

THE SAME TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, APRIL 15, 1646 (*O.C.* 1988).

Trade here is very bad. Forward a packet received overland from the Company. The bale missing from the consignment by the *Endeavour* was found last December, when they removed to another house. Their new residence is most convenient. 'It once belonged to Ferrad Agga [Farhād Āghā], Governour of this place, and is right against the custome howse.' The rent (300 rials of eight per annum) is higher than that of their previous dwelling; but they will save a good deal in 'portadge' of goods. 'The Dutch pay 50 rials more for one not halfe so good, and, if possible, would shift us out of this.' Its size will much facilitate the dispatch of business, and they hope their action will be approved. (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

WILLIAM PITT, ROBERT HEYNES, AND SAMUEL WILTON AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, MAY 9, 1646 (*O.C.* 1991).[1]

Wrote last on May 16, 1645. On the following day Wylde and Wilton departed to Ispahān. Account of the arrival just afterwards of Courteen's ship *Loyalty*, under John Durson, and their protest against him. The Governor and Shāhbandar promised to make the newcomers pay full custom for their goods; but, 'upon Dursson &c. fayre promises to come this yeare with eleaven ships and to contract with the King for all his silke, they, to give them encouragement, remitted them the whole custome of their goods; and they, haveing sold off theyr sugar and rice, tooke their voyadge for Bossora.' Their excuse for coming into these parts was that they were forced to earn what they could by carrying freight, since Mr. Bowen had seized the 5,000*l.* 'which should have sett them about other employment'. As they made particular inquiry after Bowen and expressed much bitterness against him, an express was sent to Basra to warn the Company's factors, &c., to be on their guard. On May 20, 1645, Pitt claimed

[1] A signed copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

from the Shāhbandar the English share of the customs. A long wrangle ensued; but finally Pitt accepted 615½ tūmāns. He then proceeded to Ispahān, arriving June 17. Sales of goods there. On Pitt's visiting the Itimād-uddaula, the latter told him that the Dutch 'demaunded Your Worships part of customes of this King, for which they promised to defend this port from whatsoever eneimy should come against it; to which William Pitt replied that hee thought it was more than they could doe without breakeing the peace with our King and Portuges'. Account of the repulse of the Dutch at Kishm: the arrival of their commander, Blocq, in Ispahān: his death: and the subsequent negotiations. Eleven Dutch ships have visited Gombroon this year, mostly employed in carrying freight goods between that place and Surat at any rates they can get, accepting even a third of the usual freight. By this means and by their warlike actions of last year, the Hollanders 'have purchased the Kings favour exceedingly, insomuch that hee hath given order that they shall not want for anything here in his kingdome; notwithstanding all which this Comaunder intends not to trust him too much, . . . for this manzoone hee hath called downe all his people from Spa[han], onely a painter, which the King two yeares past enterteined in his service; which painter, beeing also a merchant, doth now alone follow theyr Companies busines above, which is not much more than to receive the letters they send up to the King and to retourne answer of the same. What the next Comaunder (who is expected here the next manzoone) will doe, wee doe not know; but if this that is here holdeth his resolution, hee will not contract with the King for any silke nor make use of his priviledge to buy of private merchants, unles they will bring it downe and deliver it here at port.' This condition is not likely to be accepted, and therefore in all probability no silk will reach Holland next year. An excellent opportunity will thus be afforded the English factors of purchasing a quantity at a reasonable price, and they hope to be authorized to do so. 'Att our being above in Spa[han] the last yeare wee procured from the King three firmaunds, vizt. one to free us from paying the King's duties of one per cento for what goods wee sell in Spa[han]; one about our ruinated house here in Bunder, that the owners of it shall rebuild it or pay

us back our money for the time wee have remeineing in it; the other on the Sultan here that hee shall lett us sitt with him in the custome house and that hee shall pay us Your Worships shares of two juncks ladeing of goods' detained last year by the Dutch, but afterwards released and cleared. Cannot, however, get payment from the Sultān, who puts them off with frivolous excuses; so they intend to complain of him on reaching Ispahān. Murder of Mīrzā Taqī, the Itimād-uddaula, and punishment of the assassins.[1] His successor, Khalīfa Sultān, promised Pitt to show favour to the English; 'but since wee understand hee is an inveterate enemy to all Christians, and soe hath already shewed himselfe unto the poore Armenians above in Spa[han], endeavouring what hee can to make them turne Moores.' Wylde and Wilton left Ispahān on September 7, reaching Gombroon October 10. There they found the *Endeavour* and embarked their money in her for Surat. Pitt arrived at the port on November 15. The *Lanneret*, after her unsuccessful expedition to Sūr, landed most of her goods here and then proceeded to Surat, with Wylde on board. She had brought from that place Lewis and Best to assist Pitt; and the former took charge of the accounts until the arrival of Robert Heynes on March 15, when he made over charge to him. Lewis has now gone to Basra in the *Endeavour*. That vessel came here from Surat on February 6 and sailed on her return voyage twelve days later. The *Hind* and *Seahorse* arrived in the middle of March, and left again for Surat on the 28th of that month. Details of goods sold. Trade has been extraordinarily bad, only half the usual number of merchants having come this year. Disposal of the goods left on hand. Codrington and Best have taken a quantity up to Ispahān for sale, and Wilton is to follow immediately with another consignment. Broadcloth and tin in demand. On April 22 Thomas Spencer arrived with Courteen's ship *Sun*, chiefly laden with freight goods. The factors went at once to the Sultān and acquainted him that this ship 'ought not to come into theese partes where wee have our residence, and desired him not to lett them land their goods'. In reply he declared that he could not exclude the newcomers, but he promised

[1] In the previous September. The account in the text has been quoted in full at p. 297 of the last volume. See also Chardin's *Voyages* (ed. 1735), vol. ii. p. 9.

to make them pay full customs on their goods. The factors then protested against Spencer, and received the enclosed reply.[1] On April 30 the *Endeavour* anchored here, on her way to Basra. As she was unable to take in all the goods they had waiting for her, a small frigate was hired and sent in her company. Cannot yet say what the English share of the customs will amount to this year. 'The King hath not performed his word in sending one of his people this yeare for Botavia to treate about peace; but (as this Comaundor tells us) the Generall doth intend to send a comissary hither next manzoone to end the difference betweene them and this King.' (11 *pp.*)

Thomas Page and Jeremy Weddell[2] at Mokha to John Farren [at Rājāpur], June 22, 1646 (*O.C.* 1996).

Enclose a bill of exchange for some money lent to them in their greatest necessities by George Oxenden, &c., and entreat that payment may be duly made. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Robert Cranmer, John Lewis, Revett Walwyn, and Thomas Cogan at Basra to [the Company], August 3, 1646 (*O.C.* 1997).[3]

The Company's advices received overland have been duly transmitted to India. The *Endeavour*, under Robert Bowen, arrived here on June 27, bringing Lewis to act as second in this factory. Her cargo was landed in good condition; 'but hitherto the marketts have much fayled our expectation . . . cheifely occasioned by the warrs twixt the Turke and Venetians,[4] for that merchants come not so many as formerly; and now of late another hinderance to this ports trade by a mutany raised twixt the Bashaw of Bagdatt and this Bashawes people, where divers of eyther side have bine slaine, which feares the merchants from coming downe to port and hinders these of transporteing theire commodetyes up. So that trade now in this place is at a stand; but hope ere long these

[1] Copies of the protest and Spencer's answer will be found under *O.C.* 1989 and 1990.

[2] Merchant and commander respectively of Courteen's ship *James*.

[3] For a copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[4] This was the early stage of the long war which resulted in the conquest of Crete by the Turks.

Bashawes people will bee reconciled, and merchants freely pass as formerly. . . . By our last advice wee gave you notice of the greate quanteties of Scinda goods was then arrived hither; and since by other trankaes neere as many more from Congoo &c.; and yett the caphila from Muscatt not arrived, wherein by report are eight Scinda and other junckes, which are dayly expected. What will bee the issue of the marketts when they arrive wee cannot yett advize you. Peradventure the noyse of the caphila may draw store of merchants from the Persian side, which hitherto are not come in proportion to other times.' The Tatta merchants' agents have undersold their goods to such an extent 'that to our knowledge, counteing the charge of Muscatt &c., they loose at least 25 or 30 per cent. or more on blew baftaes and joories'; while the poorer among them, having borrowed at $1\frac{3}{4}$ and 2 per cent. [per month], 'endeavor to cleare themselves at those underrates.' The result is that there is no demand for 'your blew clotheing', which all remains on hand. The frigate sent by the Gombroon factors, laden chiefly with pepper, reached this place on July 20; but, owing to the great quantity brought by the Dutch, the price of this commodity has fallen to $3\frac{5}{8}$ rials per Basra maund, equivalent to about 28 lb. The Surat factors have expressed surprise that the money realized by sales was not remitted thither by means of the Dutch; but it was fortunate that this was not attempted, or it would have been lost when the *Schelvisch* was burned. The reason was that most of their goods were sold at four months' credit; and what money they received, 'so fast as wee could procure it, was paid to Mamud Agga, our Shaubunder, who at time of our shipps parteing, when wee could not procure in our cash, sent ['lent' *in copy*] us 8,000 rials of eight and forbore receaving his custome; which since wee have made good unto him. And notwithstanding our utmost endeavours for procuring it, 12,000 rials for goods sold in October [*the copy adds:* and November] is yet in these merchants hands; which wee hope and doubt not but in few daies will bee paid us.' Moreover, in any case they would not have ventured to send money by the Dutch without specific authority from Surat. 'The Dutch with two shipps, called the *Delphaven* and *Paw* [i.e. *Pauw*], arrived to the rivers mouth the 24th of May, wheare the former of them grounded and

lay beateing on a hard sandy banck 24 howers in a very daungerous manner, and after this lay dry in the same place three daies, when they dispeeded a letter to us, desiring our assistance in sendeing them two tranckaes to receive parte of their goods; which, notwithstandeing some of their peoples ingratetude for our last curtesie to them when their shipp fired, wee instantly complyed with there desires; but by reason of strong northerly winds they made it the 11th of June before theire merchants landed in Bussora. There cargazoan, by report of their brokers (who were sent this yeare from Surratt), amounts not to more then 25,000 rials [of] eight, most parte beeing in Brampore and Deckan cloathing, pepper, and gumlack; of all which as yett (as by our brokers report) they have not sold for more then 10,000 rials [of] eight.' Nothing further has been heard as to the Hollanders' proceedings at Gombroon and Larak. The *Delftshaven* is expected to sail about the 20th current. Enclose copies of letters to England and India, lists of prices, and accounts of goods sold, from which it will be seen that indigo and China ware are in good demand. (4 *pp.*)

JOSEPH CROSS AND NICHOLAS BUCKERIDGE AT MOKHA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, AUGUST 17, 1646 (*O.C.* 1998).

In obedience to the orders brought by Oxenden, Cross sailed from this place for Suakin on March 25, bound in the first instance for 'Delicka' to get a pilot, as 'the pilots of this country must goe no further' than that port. 'There we received a pylott that a carried us to Mussoa [Massowah], a small towne of the Turkes, where with a great deale of outward show of freindshipp they spared us a pylott, [and] presented us with a couple of bullocks and three or four goates. This towne is a place of some small trade; and, were wee well acquainted with the Gulfe, might happily vend at this port every yeare 30 or 40,000 rials worth of goods, and here might bee gained from ellephants teeth; for other commodities they have not, but butter and some corne that they send sometimes for Judda and somtimes for Mocha. The Shawbunder gave me a list of what goods are vendible there, which I have inclosed. The 23th Aprill wee arrived at Swakaine and came to [anchor?] within the river or a litle gutt into the sea;

where the [ ] sent us divers sorts of fresh provissions, as goats, sheep, cowes, milke, and water millons, with many wellcomes according to their manner. In the boate that brought this piscash I sent Ducan Vissias servants to treat about customes and our usage. This brought the Shawbunder on board our shipp, hee pretending that the Bashaw had given him order to treat aboute our customes, hee askeing 10 per cent. and said that formerly it was 15 per cent. I profferred him three, as wee paid at Mocha, and desired the same priviledge that wee had there. But I found hee had not full power to act any thing without the Bashaw; therefore I wisht him to advise the Bashaw and give mee his answer the next day; who said hee would. But the wind blowing hard, or else they could not accord among themselves (for here is a runagado that they call the Akick[1], or Governour of the towne, that rules all at his pleasure); so hee came not that day. But the next hee came and said, if I would goe on shoare hee knew that wee should agree. I went along with him, and was kindly entertained according to the custome of this country. After some parly concerneing customes, I saw that hee was willing to agree. The Bashaw stood hard for 7 or 8 per cent. I pleaded that we were freinds, and that I would give him as much as our nation paid at Constantinoble, which was three in the hundred; but could not, after much talke, gett it less then five per cent. So hee gave me his chopp on these conditions: that none of our people should turne Turkes: that our goods should bee carryed to our owne howse and there opened: that if any of them did offend, wee should have the punishing them our selves: that if any of them runn away they should not bee protected by them in any manner of falasie: and that they [wee?] should be secured from any pilfering and stealeing. And hee added that, if any did abuse us in any manner, wee should see their punishment before us. For the trade here, I finde it relyeth most upon a caphila that comes from Senar [Sennaar], which they call the great caphilo, but arrives not till the 25th of July, which time we durst not

[1] In Alvarez's narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia, 1520–27 (*Hakluyt Society*, 1881), we are told (p. 403) that 'the Prester John is called *Acegue*, which means Emperor'; and the editor explains the term as being meant for '*Akegue*, an emperor'. Professor Burkitt, however, points out that Ludolf (*Commentarius*, p. 220) writes it *Azegue*, and he therefore identifies it with *Ḥaṣêgê*, a fairly common Ethiopic term for the Emperor. Here, of course, the application is different.

awaight, in regard of your injunctions for our partings that day or the begining of August.' Sold six bales of goods at a reasonable profit; but could not invest the proceeds in myrrh, for none was to be had. Enclose an account of the sales; also a list of goods vendible there and the quantities suitable. 'The time of our aboad there wee were very kindly used and had not the least affront ofred us in any manner. Their force is not much: some five or six small gunns and very tender walls.' The reason for Cross remaining here is chiefly the large stock of goods left on hand, owing to the unexpected badness of the markets this year. He does not doubt of better sales next season; and refers them to Oxenden for further information. Goods shipped in the *Lanneret*. Lawrence Cheny, purser of the *Francis*, has been taken ashore, 'in case of mortallity'. (*Copy*. 2¼ *pp*.)

JOHN BROOKHAVEN, COMMANDER OF THE *LIONESS*, AT ST. AUGUSTINE'S BAY, TO ANY FUTURE COMERS, AUGUST 20, 1646 (*O.C.* 2000).[1]

Sailed from the Downs February 2, 1645; arrived at 'Cormantyne[2] on the Gould Coast' on March 20, and left again in May; passed the Cape August 4; touched at Johanna early in September; and reached Kārwār on November 5. Having laden with pepper and saltpetre at Rājāpur, he sailed from Kārwār on April 23, and arrived here June 24. Found the accompanying letters from Smart, announcing his departure for Mayotta with the survivors of the colony, in hopes of being fetched from thence by the *James*. Of that vessel nothing has been heard since her departure from Johanna last September and her safety is much to be doubted. The *Hester* left Kārwār for England in February last. The *Sun* departed from Dābhol on March 12, fully laden with freight goods for Persia. The *Loyalty* quitted 'Barsalore' [*see previous volume*, p. 109] on April 26 and arrived here July 16; she had endeavoured to get round the Cape, but had been forced back by contrary winds. Both ships are now about to sail for England. As no vessels have called

[1] *O.C.* 1999 is a similar letter from Capt. Durson of the *Loyalty*. Both vessels sailed together for England on this date, leaving the two letters buried, together with Smart's, under a rock near the landingplace. Copies of all these letters will be found in *Marine Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iv. no. 20.

[2] Kormantine, about 15 miles east of Cape Coast Castle.

here this season, it is feared that the troubles at home still continue; and they intend, therefore, to touch at the Cape in the hope of finding letters there giving information on this point.[1] Had some difficulty in obtaining trade with the natives here; but afterwards they sold cows freely. Their excuses for their treatment of Smart's settlers. Regrets his inability to help the latter, who are probably in a sad condition in the Comoros.[2] Trusts that whoever receives this letter will endeavour to assist them. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

THE FACTORS AT BASRA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, AUGUST 21, 1646 (*O.C.* 2002).

Write now by the Dutch *Delftshaven*, bound for Gombroon. The *Endeavour* arrived on June 27. Most of the China ware she brought has been sold, and also the indigo; but the piece-goods are in no demand. This is due chiefly to 'the warrs twixt the Venetians and Turks and the plague at Aleppo, which hath much lowred the prices of all sorts [of] comodeties in those and these parts. Yett of late, besides these defects, hath happened a worse hinderance by a kind of civell warr lately begunn betwene the Bashaw of Bagdatt and this Basshawes people, about a fort and some ground that lies neare the parteing of theire countries, that merchants cann neither goe nor come. Divers of either side have bine slaine, and now this Bashaw with all his force is gone towards that place, which is half way to Bagdatt. Tis thought peace will bee made and neither of them dare to fight without the Greate Turks order, who hath enough to doe with the Venetians.' Most of their pepper has been sold, though at a low price. Were heartily glad to learn that they are no longer to 'winter in this place'. They are doing their best to clear their accounts with a view to early departure, but they almost despair of concluding them this monsoon, and it may be necessary to leave a broker behind with the remaining stock. Goods received from Gombroon in a hired vessel. Have presented the President's letters to the Bāshā, and to Hasan Beg and Mahmūd Āghā, who will no

[1] A copy of a letter written by Brookhaven at the Cape, dated October 1, 1646, and also a list of men deceased in the *Loyalty* will be found in no. 846 of the *Ashmolean MSS.* in the Bodleian.

[2] *O.C.* 2001 is a copy of a letter left by Brookhaven for Smart, expressing his sorrow at not being able to proceed to his relief.

doubt reply and continue 'theire wonted favours'. Deficiencies in previous consignments. Dispatch of letters overland to the Company. Reasons for not having put any money aboard the *Schelvisch* or *Delftshaven*. Have still nearly 12,000 rials owing to them by merchants here. Will protest, as ordered, against the *Sun*, should she come here. Advice as to next year's consignment. Arrival of two Dutch ships; also of John Lewis. Disposal of goods belonging to certain merchants of Surat and to 'Merza Askaree [Mīrzā Askarī], your Customer'. Cranmer desires leave to return to England, his father having recently died. Enclose list of goods sold, prices, &c. (*Copy.* $5\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

ROBERT HEYNES AND SAMUEL WILTON AT ISPAHĀN TO THE FACTORS AT BASRA, SEPTEMBER 15, 1646 (*O.C.* 2003).

Received their letters on the 5th; but Pitt had already started for Gombroon. The markets here are poor, but they have sold a good quantity. Enclose a list of prices. The Company's letters were sent on to 'Scinda' on May 25. (*Copy.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

[GABRIEL BOUGHTON[1]] AT BALKH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, [OCTOBER?] 4, 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 1).[2]

Nothing of importance has happened since his last of August 9. Obtained leave from Asālat Khān to go with his brother, 'Keyling' [Qulin] Khān, to the King, to 'make an end of [the trouble]some bussines[3] formerly by your W[orships] as in letter specified'; but Asālat Khān has since changed his mind and will not let him go. Sadullah Khān has departed for Kābul, after writing to Mīrzā Amīn (?) to treat the English with all possible courtesy. The King has ordered Asālat Khān to remain here as Governor during the winter, promising to relieve him in the spring; but this

[1] Only part of the signature can be deciphered, but there is no reasonable doubt of the name, particularly as the postscript (itself illegible) has appended to it two initials, the first of which is certainly G; while the second looks like B. Moreover, the letter from Knipe on p. 56, received at the same time, refers clearly to one from Boughton, which was apparently sent on to Surat.

[2] I have dealt fully with this interesting letter in an article contributed to the *Indian Antiquary*, May, 1912. A note on the campaign in Balkh will be found below, on p. 52.

[3] Possibly the recovery of the money due from Rājā Chhatarsāl for Crane's tapestry (p. 11).

is uncertain, 'by [rea]son of the Kings wavering mind, which, like a weat[her] cocke, turnes with the wind.' Boughton finds this 'one of the unwholsomest countryes that e[ver I] was in in my life, for never since my en[tranc]e into this citty can I bee in perfect health'. Mr. Barnes[1] begs that some salary may be allotted to him. '[The King is] now jorniing towards Pissore [i.e. Peshāwar], where re[port says] hee stayes this winter; after which he [means to retu]rne againe to Cabull, if not to Balluck [i.e. Balkh]; [in the] which place hee intends his residence unt[ill the taki]ng of Buckarrath [i.e. Bokhara], the which is 250 or 300 [miles] from this place.' Preparations made for the spring campaign. The rebel prince [Abdul Azīz] is at Bokhara with a strong force. Many robbers executed by Asālat Khān. Will be happy to comply with any wishes of 'the Honorable Company my masters'. (*Copy. Original received at Surat December* 22.)

Messrs. Cranmer, Lewis, Walwyn, Cogan, and Weale at Basra to the Company, October 18, 1646 (*O.C.* 2004).

Six days ago their messenger returned from Aleppo and informed them that he had been entrusted by the consul there with a packet for them, but had been robbed of everything in the desert by some Arabs. Fear that the packet must have contained letters from the Company. Now forward two packets received from Surat, with transcripts of their own letters of August 3 and 21. Have been ordered by the President and Council to dissolve the factory and return to Surat; but the remaining stock of goods is so large that they have decided to leave Cogan and Weale behind to dispose of it. Enclose list of goods sold and on hand. After paying all charges, they will carry with them nearly 60,000 rials of eight. Intend to embark in the *Endeavour* to-morrow and to sail the next day for Gombroon, where they will pick up Pitt. Enclose a letter from the factors at Ispahān [*see* p. 50]. The pattamar that brought it reported that 'the King of Tartaria or Usbuck, who is beaten out of his country by the King of India, while his sonne and hee were buissed in civell warrs, arrived at Spahaune about the 20 September, haveing committed himselfe to the Persians

[1] Who this was cannot be determined. Possibly the unnamed trumpeter mentioned on p. 302 of the last volume had accompanied Boughton and Asālat Khān to Balkh.

protection, and was received with great pompe.[1] The diffirences of which wee wrott you twixt the Bashawes of Bagdatt and this Bashawes people are passified by the Great Turke haveing sent this Bashaw a vest and (by report) displaced the other.' A list of prices current here is forwarded. (1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS IVY, GEORGE TRAVELL, AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE 'GENERALL[2] ETC. COUNCELL' OF SAN THOMÉ, OCTOBER 27, 1646 (*O.C.* 2006).[3]

Require satisfaction for the many previous injuries done to the Company and to the inhabitants of Madraspatam: for the proclamation of war made at San Thomé last Friday 'by a publique cryer': and for the illtreatment on the following day of certain inhabitants of Madraspatam, who were detained and 'most unhumanely beaten' by the soldiers. If redress be refused, 'lett no man wonder if, according to the law of nations, wee seek itt by force'. An answer is demanded by twelve o'clock. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

ENCLOSURE: PARTICULARS OF THE ENGLISH DEMANDS (*O.C.* 2005).

Their demands are as follows:—1. Satisfaction for wrongs done to the Company by his predecessor, Lewis de Mello, as specified in a list sent to the Viceroy. 2. The surrender of 'Taga' [Tiyāga?] and his accomplices, or compensation for their detention of cloth belonging to 'our cheife merchant Sesadra' and 'our Mombalon[4] painters goods', under pretext of new impositions, which 'are contrary to the legue made with the King of Karnatt and priviledges granted to the Honourable Company by the aforesaid King'. Although the Viceroy of Goa has ordered the inhabitants of San Thomé to maintain friendly relations with those of Madraspatam,

[1] Taking advantage of dissensions between Nazar Muhammad and his son Abdul Azīz, the Mogul forces invaded Balkh. The king fled to Persia, as above related, and his dominions were annexed to those of Shāh Jahān. The conquest, however, proved a temporary one, for in the following year the Moguls were obliged to evacuate the country with loss.

[2] His name is given in *O.C.* 2005 as Manoel Mascarenhas de Almeida.

[3] Printed (as also its enclosure) in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i. p. 77).

[4] The village of Māmbalam (Marmalong) on the Adyar River, near Saidapet, now one of the suburbs of Madras.

'they have, contrary to that order, proclaimed us their enemies by sound of drum, and manifested itt by imprisoning our people in St. Thome and deteyning the provisions belonging to the Honourable Company; as allso (and cheifly) by councelling the aforesaid Taga and his complices to block up all the avennues of our towne with the nomber of 4 or 500 souldiers.' 3. Satisfaction for the lives of the Englishmen slain by the aforesaid soldiers, 'occasioned by the following accident. The Worshipfull Agent &c., considering thes abuses, sent a captain of [ ] and a corporall, with a few of our peons, to see whether they could bring in any of that theevish crew, as allso to be ascertained whether they did belong to thos of St. Thome, as we were informed; which complyed to our expectations by the bringing of five souldiers which belonged to the aforesaid Taga &c. complices; upon whose apprehension they sallyed upon our people, pursued [them] within comand of our fort, pillaged our suburbes, and carryed our inhabitants prisoners; which affront occasioned the Agent [and] Leiftenant, with 20 English musqueteirs and the Companies peons, to sally out for their rescue; who were encountred by the souldiers of Meliapor and in our retreat [they] shott us with their missive weapons and killed us three Englishmen; in revenge of which the Agent &c. Councell drew an assistant party, which hath cost the Company to the amount of 3,000 rials of eight.' For all these losses and expenses satisfaction must be given; 'the complyance of which shall cause a strict amity, whereas the contrary will produce an open enmity.' (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

Edward Pearce and [Thomas B]reton at Rājāpur to the President and Council at Surat, November 22, 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 17).

Arrived here last night, and found a stock of pepper, cardamoms, cloves, and gunny awaiting them. The saltpetre, however, 'lyes stopt in Rabaugg, by reason that Mustapha Ckawne [Mustafa Khān] very lately hath got a firmaen of saltpeeter out of the hands of Jusnner Ckawne [? Jan Nisar Khān], the Kings treasurer; who, in hopes to procure some new unreasonable duties besides what belongs to this port, will no[t suf]fer itt to proceed.' Have

written to 'Bennidas', who is in Rāybāg, sick of a fever, to come down as speedily as possible, but cannot expect him under twelve days; and as the ship cannot wait so long, the chances of their being able to bring back the saltpetre with them are small. The goods already here will be embarked on the 25th. There is no likelihood of selling their coral. Captain Thompson [of the *Ruth*] has landed a quantity (besides lead and broadcloth), to be sold to provide his ship with a return lading. He is to sail for Dābhol, where he hopes to procure a freight for Gombroon. Courteen has nothing in the country to pay his debts, which amount to over 12,000 pagodas; and it is said that his creditors will insist on being satisfied before Thompson is allowed to leave the port. Spencer has gone to Kārwār with the *Sun*, but is expected back within fifteen days. His lading of pepper and saltpetre, to the value of about 1,800 pagodas, will not be ready before March, and he will probably winter at Madagascar. Farren is at Kārwār and Weddell at Goa, where he is selling the *James*; so 'their bill of debt' [*see* p. 44] will probably have to be returned to Surat. (*Copy.*)

MAXIMILIAN BOWMAN AT COLOMBO TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, NOVEMBER 26, 1646 (*O.C.* 2009).[1]

Wrote last from Goa on September 18, acquainting them with his reason for quitting the Company's service, viz. that, his covenanted time having expired, he hoped to better his fortunes. Before leaving Achin he made over everything in his charge to John Turner, together with the account books, and trusts to hear that everything was found to be in order. Solicits their assistance in obtaining his salary, and whatever else is due to him. 'This day arrived a small vessell from Santomay with certaine Portugall merchants belonging to this citty, whom [*sic*] report that there is an extraordinary dearth in Santomay off all provissions, that a candy off rice is there worth 200 zerapheens, and all other eatable comodities accordingly scarse;[2] which dearth hath caused many

[1] There is another copy in Factory Records, Surat, vol. cii A, p. 68. From this it appears that the original was received on February 22.

[2] A letter from Achin, dated October 26, 1646, reporting the arrival, fifteen days before, of a Portuguese vessel from Negapatam, adds: 'Ther came uppon this smale vessell uppward of 400 slaves, soe hunger starved that they were scarce able to crawle

off the Portugall women to leave their husbands and families to runn to the English in Madraspatam for releife; which hath occasioned notable quarrells betweene the English and Portugalls there. The Moores haveing beseeged Santomay with 8,000 foott and 3,000 horse, the English, the Companies servants, tooke an occasion to assist the Moores in their assault against Santomay, where 14 English with many Moores lost their lifes in [the] attempt. But a new Generall being sent thether from Goa, the matter was taken up betweene the English and Portugalls and made freinds; but the citty is still beseeched by the Moores. A Danish vessell arrived lately in Trinkombarr [Tranquebar] from Batavia, whom brought newes that the Dutch had receaved no supply this yeare from Holland, that Batavia was extreame barren off any Europe provisions, nor had the Dutch little hopes to receave any this monzone, by reason (as they say) the Prince off Orange hath taken up armes against the States to make himselfe obsolute governor over the Low Countries. The Dutch in these parts are in as badd a predicament, haveing not above 500 soldiers in all Zeloon, and those the most part made off unpracticed saylors. Yet they hould out stiffe against the Portugalls. The Vice King haveing sent an embasader to Gally to demaund Negomba, according to the condicions made betweene the King off Portugall and the States off the Low Countryes, Maetsugcker[1], Generall in Gally for the Hollands Company, tould the embassader plainly that it was true they had order from the States and Prince off Orange to deliver Negomba to the Portugalls, but they were not servants to the Prince nor States but to the Company, from whom (they said) they had receaved no such order; nor, when they shall receave such order from their Company, will they surrender it but by force. So that the embassader returned thence without effecting any thing he went for. So that its likely to be warrs betweene the Portugalls and Dutch in these parts. The Dutch hath shipped off from Negomba and Gally 800 baharrs off cinnamon this yeare,

when they brought them ashoare, and are now sould for 5 and 6 tale per heade, wheras at other tymes the[y] yeeld 10 and 12 tale. They report a very strang famine to have been for 13 months past, and yett doth continue in those parts, insoemuch as the people give themselves for slaves to any man that will but feede them, all kinds of provisions, especially graine, beeing att excessive rates.' (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 14,037, f. 46.)

[1] Jan Maatzuiker, afterwards Governor-General at Batavia, 1653–54.

and the Portugalls, by the shipping bound now for Goa, [ ] baharrs for the Kings account. The principall comodities these parts yeeld is cinamon, which belongs onely to the King, except what merchants get by stealth: beetle nutts in great quantities, shipped hence twice a yeare for Cost Cormondell &c., worth heer commonly 10 zerapheens a amanon[1] (containing 27,000 nutts): also a red wood called heer sappan, worth heer at present 15 zerapheens per baharr; off which two latter comodities there is great quanteties shipped for Goa by the fleet now to depart hence.' *PS.*—Encloses 'the Queene off Acheens letter for the imunities off the goods thence transported.' (*Copy.* $2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

EDWARD KNIPE AT BIĀNA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, NOVEMBER 28, 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 4).

[*Half a page illegible.*] The indigo was not dry enough to be sent down . . . Purchases made by Davidge in 'Coriah[2]'. . . . Arrangements for obtaining money. . . . Goods being prepared for dispatch to Surat. Forwards (?) a letter from Boughton and one from Asālat Khān. . . . Broadcloth wanted. (*Copy. Original received December* 22.)

THE SAME TO THE SAME, NOVEMBER 2[9], 1646 (*Ibid.*, p. 8).

Has this instant received the Surat letter of the [ ] of this month. Will gladly obey the order to return for England, and will hand over his charge when, where, and to whom they please to direct. Care will be taken to satisfy the Company as regards the quality both of the indigo and of the calico purchased. Of the 'Derriabauds' bought in Lucknow half will be 'whited' there and the rest sent down unbleached. Will forward as soon as possible samples of sugar obtainable in Agra. Is told here that the best quality will cost from $4\frac{3}{4}$ to 5 rupees the maund 'Shaw

[1] A measure known as an *amona* or *amonam*, equivalent to about $5\frac{3}{4}$ bushels: see a passage quoted in *Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 135, where, however, this measure is said to contain only 12,000 betel-nuts.

[2] In the previous volumes this place has been identified with Korīa, in the Alīgarh district; but it is now thought more probable that Khurja, in the Bulandshahr district, is meant. The latter was until recently a great centre for indigo.

Jehann', and that three to four thousand maunds of this quality could at any time be bought in Agra. Has already advised about saltpetre. The accounts will show what quick stock there is in Agra. The house is estimated to fetch, if sold, upwards of 8,000 rupees. As to the complaints from Ahmadābād of short measure in certain goods sent down, he declares that this could not have been due to any carelessness at Agra, and suggests that the bales were tampered with after their arrival. Hopes to come down with the caravan before the rains. (*Copy. Original received December* [22?].)

Thomas Cogan and William Weale at Basra to the President and Council at Surat, December 1, 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 31).

Since Cranmer and the rest left, few goods have been sold, and they fear that the greater part will remain on hand till the beginning of the next monsoon. Dispatched a packet to the Company overland on October 26. The Dutch have sold all their goods, but the amount is not large. Have apprehended the trumpeter who deserted from the *Endeavour*, and the Dutch have undertaken to carry him to Gombroon, whence he will be sent to Surat. '[From] two padres who latly arrived heere wee [learn that the Prince of Ora]nge is dead,[1] and that the [hath] made peace with the [ ]: the Scotes and Dutch assi[s]te our King: and that [he had won a] great victory on the Parlaments [army] and was marching to London.' Enclose a list of goods sold, an account of stock, &c. (*Copy. Original received January* 11.)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, December 7, 1646 (*O.C.* 2010).

Have now at last succeeded in sending off their caravan. 'The 30th passed the Prince, to the gennerall content of all men, left this place, Shawshall Cawne[2] lying without the towne; whom the

[1] If this reading is correct, the statement is as inaccurate as the rest of the padres' news.

[2] This appears to be a copyist's error for Shāistah Khān, who had been appointed Viceroy of Gujarāt in place of Prince Aurangzeb.

next day George Tash visited and was courteouslie receiv'd by him, Meir Moza and the Buxee shewing us extraordinarie friendshipp therin. The same daie wee begann to lade our caffila, nor did wee forslow anie time to procure our saltpetres license, which Meir Moza perswaded us was in his sole power to grant, and from him onlie wee were as now to seeke it; since by some insurreccion of rebellious Coolyes [Kolīs] our new Governour, ere hee had entred the cittie or made anie long stay without, was forced to rise with his lascarr [army] and pursue them, they haveing by stratagem cut of divers of the Princes best souldeirs. In the interim Meir Moza shews himselfe as willing as hee pretended hee was able to assist us, and delivers his dustuck [permit: *dastak*] to free us from all manner of trouble therin. But when wee came to prove the efficacy therof wee found it of little validitie, our carts not onlie beeing stai'd for the saltpetre businesse, but allsoe for payment of a dutie to the King of one half per cent. on indico, gumlac, saltpetre, &c., due from the seller and remitted to them by the Prince and now unjustlie demanded from us, and two rupees per cart to the Governour. For paying the later wee have gott a despensacion untill wee have tryed the Governours favoure for remitting it to us; but for the releife of the saltpetre it would bee by noe means granted untill the Governours perwanna warranted it, Meir Mozas distuck beeing not regarded; and then for the other duties that must allsoe bee paid, and how wee should overcome all these difficulties and exaccions, but by repairing to the Governour, did exceedinglie perplex us; and that most of all, since manie daies would bee spent therin, and till our retourne the caffilo could not proceed. In fine, wee found the cheife occasion of our saltpetres stay to bee onlie for to gett some thing out of us for the Kings custome, rented by an exacting villaine, to feed whose hungry maw wee were forced to part with 125 rupees and cleere our carts without the Governours leave, to whom both hee and wee must bee accomptable for it, and doubtless purchase his just despleasure; but for our selves George Tash intends a sudden repaire unto him, in company of the Buxee, not doubting but therby to procure freedome, both in our saltpeter and cart custome, as formerlie granted unto us by his predecessors, and excuse what allreadie done, if come to his knowledge ere his arrivall.' List of goods

forwarded by the caravan. The 'adowiahs' [carriers: Guj. *adhovāyo*] have been given a bill on Surat for 200 rupees. A further supply of saltpetre will be forwarded with the indigo caravan. 'How wee have proceeded in our dying busines, and what wee have and may gaine therby, will appeare unto you in the incloased accompt, which shewes that the erecting a workhowse in Ahmuda[bad] (which may bee performed with 1,000 rupees charge) would bee exceedinglie beneficiall to the Honnourable Company, even to the clearing of the charge by one yeares worke. Wee shall therfore most contentedly (haveing gained your consent therto) put it in practise; and this wee the rather desire since, as it would be proffitable unto our masters, soe may it allso prove contentfull unto us, since therby wee shall shunn all future blame for cloth ill cured.' Have paid 'Jugram' [Jag Rām] 400 rupees in settlement of a bill drawn on Surat by the Agra factors; and have delivered 200 rupees to Abdul Karīm for way charges. (*Copy.* $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

John Farren, Edward Lloyd, and Abraham Hunt at Kārwār to the President and Council at Surat, December 7, 1646 (*O.C.* 2012).[1]

Have of late suffered in credit owing to reports circulated by the Company's servants that 'our master, Esquire Curteen, was wholly outed of this India employment by order for [from?] Parliment'. Whether this is true they know not, as they have received no advice from England this season; but in any case, unless supplies arrive, they will be forced to 'desolve'. 'Therefore in such extremitie we thought good to make yow proffer of our howse and appurtenances, rather then to leave it in the power of heathens or any Christian straingers; [n]or doe wee conceive the contrary but that it may bee most convenient for your trade in these parts, not only for buying pepper &c. commodities, but also for the refineing saltpetre and many other benifitts of consequence, which we conceive not unknowne unto yow. Most certaine we are it hath cost the Esquire considerable sommes of mony to bring it to the estate it is now in, being well fortified and strong against all

[1] A second copy will be found at p. 47 of vol. cii A of *Factory Records, Surat.* The original letter was received on January 30, 1647.

opposition of these country people.' Request a speedy answer. They will be ready to give immediate possession, and to leave the conditions of transfer to be settled between Courteen and the East India Company in England. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

John Spiller, Henry Garry, and Gilbert Harrison, on board the *Hart* in 'Sindy' Road, to [the President and Council at Surat], December 8, 1646 (*O.C.* 2011).[1]

Their 'Sevestaune' goods (the only ones outstanding) reached Tatta November 10, and were at once packed and sent down hither in boats, 'though not without much trouble, for that wee in manie places were forced, where was not a foote water, to drawe the boates by meere strength uppon poles into deeper water, one after another, untill wee came into the tides way, which now runnes soe high as halfe way to Tatah and more, beeing salt water a greite parte of the way.' Reached 'Bunder' [Lārībandar] on November 24, and six days later the *Hart's* boat brought news of her arrival. Now reply to the letter received by her. Expect to sell her tobacco at 10 or 11 rupees (or possibly more) per maund, and believe fifty more bales would vend readily. The Shāhbandar promises payment of the bills of exchange. Send as many 'browne bazar baftas' as they could procure in the time. Rejoiced to hear of the arrival of the *Dolphin*. Explain the difficulty of getting 'Khanderah' cloth of the length desired by the Company. This being 'the first time that our goods was soe entred and dispatched in the costomehowse, the Shabander tooke some time to informe himselfe. Soe it was the second present before our goods were out of the customehowse; which the next day was despeeded to the fisher towne, wher for want of boates they lay two daies before wee could gett a boate to take anie part therof.' The Shāhbandar did not open their packages, but took their words for the contents; 'never before had any merchant his goods soe cleered, beeing a lybertie that a Tahtah merchant must not expect to enjoy.' At present the prices of cloth are very reasonable, and they hope to procure a good quantity this year. 'Now the Bussora vessells are come in, new rupees will bee

[1] For another copy see *Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 16.

procureable; soe wee intende to change all the old rupees wee have, and send them upp to Khandeirah.' The invoice will show what goods have been put aboard this vessel. Note that the Company's letter says that 'those makeings of baftas which Sindy affoords were in better esteeme then anie other sorte', including apparently Nasarpur. Await instructions as to the purchase of the latter. Money advanced to James Bearblock for ship's provisions. *PS.*—Last year's accounts are sent in the ship. (*Copy.* $2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

[John] Spiller, [Henry] Garry, and Gilbert Harrison at 'Bunder Lahree' [Lārībandar] to the President and Council at Surat, December [13], 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 29).

Are still in 'Bunder', waiting to get their goods cleared, but hope to leave in about eight days. In consequence of a dispute in the customhouse, which occurred shortly before the *Hart* sailed, the Portuguese factor and padre went aboard their frigates of war; and when the Shāhbandar sent two of his servants to entreat them to come ashore again, the Portuguese killed one and carried the other aboard, after beating him. This has created a great disturbance, and the Shāhbandar is much incensed. He has applied to the writers to take freight for Gombroon, as formerly promised, offering to 'allow us halfe of the Muskatt customes which his merchants pay here to these. Wee said little, but reffered him to you.' The Ahmadābād factors have desired them to obtain the money they require at Tatta by bills drawn on Ahmadābād; will endeavour to comply. (*Copy. Original received January* 4.)

Thomas Whatmore, aboard the *Expedition*, to the President at Surat, December 14, 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 24).

Narrates his loss of an anchor. The ship is at present about forty leagues east of Jask. (*Copy. Original received January* 2.)

[DAVID] WHITE, ABOARD THE *LANNERET*, TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, DECEMBER 14, 1646 (*Ibid.*, p. 26).

Sends this letter by a Dutch ship he has just met. The *Expedition* is still keeping company. Is shorthanded, five of his crew of thirty being at present sick. (*Copy. Original received January* 2.)

EDWARD KNIPE AT BIĀNA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, DECEMBER 16, 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 36).

His previous letters of November 28 and 29 will have already informed them on most points mentioned in theirs of November 21, received on December 9. Has now procured samples of sugar from Agra, including a superfine sort which sells in that city for 6 rupees per maund 'Shaw Jean'. After seeing samples of saltpetre, he has ordered a quantity to save time. Sends specimens of sugar and lac, with prices. Regrets the death of Fremlen and Turner. *PS.*—This year the indigo crop has been much damaged by drought, while a great deal of what was obtained was spoiled in manufacture. Fears, therefore, that he will find it difficult to complete 400 bales. These are likely to cost, 'dry packt', nearly 42 rupees per 'maund Mogull'. An Armenian is doing his best to purchase a quantity; and an Ahmadābād shroff has already bought much at Hindaun. *PPS.*—Some days before the receipt of their letter forbidding further complaints against Mīrzā Amīn, Knipe had written to Asālat Khān and 'Hackelitt Ck[aune]'[1] regarding the wrongs done by Mīrzā Amīn to the Company at Surat and 'to our nation at court by informing such false things against you'. A reply has just arrived from Asālat Khān, enclosing a parwāna from Sadullah Khān to Mīrzā Amīn. As the latter has now been superseded by Alī Akbar, the documents are not of much use; but they are forwarded 'to shew him or any other that may come after him'. (*Copy. Original received January* 11.)

[1] In the Dutch records he is called 'Hackiketchan', i.e. Haqīqat Khān.

[George Tash, Hugh] Fenn, and [Anthony] Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, [December 17 ?] 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 11).

Mīrzā Alī Akbar desires to have twelve passes for Malabar vessels which he proposes to invite to trade at Goghā and Cambay for 'the bettering those parts'; and further requests that they may be sent by the bearer of this, who is to meet him at Cambay. Omitted to advise that the Portuguese Padre and William Bell arrived in safety the 12th instant. Three days later the Rector of Agra, Stanislao [ ]ier[1], reached this place; he will start for Surat with the indigo caravan to-morrow. Desire a supply of paper for books. (*Copy.*)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, [December 20 ?] 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 12).

Tash's intended journey to the Governor has had to be abandoned. Owing to delays made by Mīr Mūsā, he was unable to start with the Bakhshī's party, and now all the ways are closed by the rebels. Have therefore written to the Bakhshī, desiring his intercession with the Governor to procure the permits they desire. Upon knowledge of their previous immunities, the latter was pleased to grant the like, contingent upon their producing the original farmān from the King for their exemption from road duties. Desire therefore that this may be sent. Have obtained the release of 65 bales of saltpetre, and dispatched them on the 17th instant; 'yett the Kings limitacion of noe more then what may bee necessary to our occasions and none for merchandize (such being the expression in his firmaen) breeds new scrup[les in] these people.' The factors dare not, therefore, contract for more until the matter is settled; but they hope for speedy satisfaction, as the new Governor has shown himself very well disposed towards them. A suitable present for him should be sent up with the desired farmān, as they must visit him on his return. Have received the bills of exchange, which have been duly presented and most of the money has been distributed. The bills were made

[1] This may be Stanislaus Malpica, mentioned in the 1634-36 volume. See also *Manucci*, vol. iv. p. 423.

payable at their warehouse—an error which should be avoided in future, lest a new custom be established. Had hoped to receive a further remittance, but the Surat letter of the 9th announced that this would be deferred until it was known whether the money could be obtained at Ahmadābād by means of bills on Surat. Have made inquiry accordingly, but find that the exchangers are keeping their money in hand to meet bills expected from Surat. Beg therefore that the deferred remittance may now be made. Have arranged with Mīrzā Alī Akbar (who arrived on the 15th) that the 10,000 rupees due to him shall be paid at Surat. If any good ginger is procurable, samples will be sent. Answer complaints as to packing, &c. of goods. The letters from Surat for Agra have been forwarded. Express gratitude for the promise to consider Isaiah Joyce's application. Are preparing a further caravan of indigo and Bantam goods. Money advanced to the leader of the recent caravan. *PS.*—Have just accepted bills for 12,000 rupees drawn by Knipe at Agra. This will increase their engagements. (*Copy.*)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, December 22, 1646 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 19).

Had already prepared their caravan, with Thomas Andrews as leader, when on the 20th arrived the Surat letter asking for a further supply of saltpetre. At first they were inclined to detain the carts; but on second thoughts they dispatched them on their journey from 'Issumpore[1]' yesterday, leaving the saltpetre and some more indigo to form another caravan, which will be sent off about the 26th. Are in hopes shortly to be exempted from the 'cart duty', without waiting to receive the farmān from Surat; and in the meantime payment has been allowed to stand over until the matter is decided. Trust that no more saltpetre will be demanded, owing to the trouble and hazard involved. Are glad that the indigo has proved so good. The price is not extraordinary, although it has been 'raysed neare two rupees in a maen by the new Governor[s] arrivall; soe much being his custome, which in the Princes time was remitted to its makers'. Desire a speedy

[1] Isanpur, three miles south of Ahmadābād.

resolution regarding 'the erecting of dying workhouses' here, as the work will take a considerable time. Enclose an invoice of the goods now sent. Andrews has been given a sum of money for charges on the way, together with 'our horse' to ride on. Trust to receive a better animal in his stead. Mīr Mūsā long since offered to buy those horses which Mīrzā Amīn refused; but they doubt whether he would accept of any of them on inspection. Payments to the 'adowiahs'. *PS.*—Have now received a letter from the Bakhshī, advising that the Governor has granted them two months in which to produce their farmān. Beg that the latter may be sent up in original. *PPS.*—Have just received a visit from Mīrzā Alī Akbar, who says that he will be in Surat 'the 9th of the next moone'. Sale of certain goods. (*Copy. Original received December* 26.)

THOMAS BEST AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, DECEMBER 22, 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 32).

Wrote last by the Dutch on December 1. Letters since received from Surat by the Dutch *Nassau* and the Company's ships *Lanneret* and *Expedition*. Has landed the freight goods on board the two latter vessels. Compensation claimed for damage to some indigo. This deferred until the arrival of Heynes, to whom Best has written to hasten down. The *Falcon* has not yet arrived. Hopes to dispatch both of the present ships within three days; but doubts whether any freight can be obtained, as the Dutch have carried off all that was available. Copper is in no demand here. The Dutch *Pauw* arrived to-day from Basra, with all her merchants and some unsold goods. She brought the enclosed letter from the English factors there. (*Copy. Original received January* 11.)

THOMAS WHATMORE, ABOARD THE *EXPE[DITION* AT GOMBROON], TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, [DECEMBER 22], 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 34).

Announces his arrival on December [17]. Found only Best here. The ship has proved tight under water, but her sides and

decks must be calked and her masts are unsatisfactory. Has borrowed an anchor from the *Lanneret*. (*Copy*.)

[DAVID WHITE], ABOARD THE *LANNERET* AT GOMBROON, TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, DECEMBER 22, 1646 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 36).

Reached this place on the 17th, and has now landed most of his cargo. His crew has been so reduced by sickness that he has been forced to hire eight 'hamalls' [Arabic *hammāl*, a porter] to help unload the ship. (*Copy. Original received January* 11.)

JAMES BEARBLOCK [MASTER OF THE *HART*] AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, [DECEMBER 23], 1646 (*Ibid*., p. 10).

Announcing his arrival [from Sind]. Their voyage thither was slow, as they were delayed by the vessel they convoyed. They arrived there the 29th ultimo, and left again on the 9th current. (*Copy. Original received same day*.)

THOMAS METHWOLD AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, DECEMBER 27, 1646 (*Ibid*., p. 23).

Will fill the gunny bags with pepper, and await further instructions. Negligence of the shore coopers. Some of the sailors sent down on the 19th have not yet appeared. Answers a complaint about the bearer of a previous letter. (*Copy. Original received same day*.)

THOMAS BEST AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, DECEMBER 28, 1646 (*Ibid*., p. 39).

His last was sent by the *Nassau*, which sailed on the 22nd. Now dispatches the *Expedition* and *Lanneret*, with what freight goods and passengers he has been able to procure. Their departure has been delayed by the non-arrival of Heynes, the difficulty of getting boats, and the hope of obtaining more freight. The goods invoiced from Surat by the two vessels have been duly received, though the pepper is short in weight. Intended to have shipped a horse left here by Pitt; but the Governor refused to permit this, alleging orders from the King not to allow any to be exported until

a new farmān is obtained. Has written to Heynes about the matter. If the latter does not arrive before the *Falcon*, the writer will do his best to carry out the instructions from Surat. Money advanced to the commanders of the ships. A padre named Franciscus has been allowed to take his passage in the *Lanneret*, the question of payment being referred to the President and Council. A seaman has been detained to guard the warehouse. A letter from Samuel Wilton announces that Heynes is on his way down; Wilton remains at Ispahān to sell the goods on hand there. Help will be needed here, as the writer has been troubled with a tertian fever for eight months. Gunny bags retained on the *Lanneret*. (*Copy. Original received January* 15.)

THOMAS ANDREWS AT 'CUSSUMBAY[1]' TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, DECEMBER 30, 1646 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 24).

Announces his approach with the caravan, with which he hopes to reach 'Reneill' [Rānder] to-day. Will there await instructions. (*Copy. Original received January* 1.)

GEORGE [TASH] AND HUGH [FENN] AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, DECEMBER 30, 1646 (*Ibid.*, p. 27).

The indigo and saltpetre caravan left on the 28th and will, it is hoped, complete its journey in nine days. Particulars of the goods and arrangements as to expenses. Send an account of the quick stock remaining. Their debts have risen to nearly two lakhs of rupees; so that, before they remit either to Agra or to Tatta, they must await supplies from Surat, in addition to the 60[000] rupees now expected. Regret that they cannot undertake the saltpetre business until the Governor's licence is received, as the loss of time thus caused may make it impossible for them to supply the quantity desired. The Governor's officials have given abundant trouble in the matter, but a favourable issue is expected, particularly as the Dutch have obtained permission to transport 200 bales. Are anxiously awaiting the farmān from Surat. *PS.* (*Dec.* 31)—

[1] Kosamba, about four miles south of Hathuran.

Have just received the Surat letter, enclosing a bill of exchange for 60[000 rupees] and the King's farmān. [*Part illegible.*] Would be glad to proceed in the saltpetre business. Are sensible of the drawbacks attendant on the grant of the passes desired by Mīrzā Alī Akbar, but could not avoid passing on his request. Trust that he will, as promised, grant some favours in return. Desire instructions for the disposal of certain 'guzzees' and 'ecbarries'. (*Copy. Original received January* 4.)

NOTES OF THE VOYAGES OF THE *FALCON* (*Marine Records*, vol. lxv. p. 103).

1647, *January* 21. Arrived at Gombroon. *February* 13. Departed. *March* 11. Anchored at Swally. *March* 22. Sailed for Mokha. List of the cargo. *May* 5. Reached that place. *August* 12. Sailed. *August* 14. At Aden transferred certain goods to the *Seahorse*. *August* 20. Left Aden for Porakād. *October* 4. Sailed from 'Purghatt'. *October* 5. Reached Cochin and took in some cinnamon. *October* 11. Anchored at Calicut, but the Malabars refused to trade. *October* 12. Departed. *December* 4. Arrived at Swally. 1648, *February* [ ]. Sailed for Mokha and Suakin. *March* 15. Arrived, and landed the goods enumerated. *July* 30. Sailed from Suakin. *August* 12. Reached Mokha. *September* 14. Anchored at Swally. 1649, *January* 24. Sailed for Gombroon. *February* 14. Arrived there. List of goods landed. *March* 3. Left Gombroon. *March* 17. Returned to Surat. Account of goods and freight. *April* 8. Departed for Basra. *July* 22. Arrived there, and landed their goods (list given). Particulars of return cargo received at that port and at Gombroon (October 16). ($10\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

THOMAS IVY, GEORGE TRAVELL, AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO [THOMAS] WINTER, ETC., [AT MASULIPATAM], JANUARY 4, 1647 (*O.C.* 2015).

Desire them to send by the *Seaflower* 100 hogs or pigs, as no meat is here obtainable and without this supply rice and water will be their only sustenance. 'To this miserable pass are wee and this country brought unto.' Fear that the long detention of the

Seaflower at Narsapur will entail the loss of her monsoon for Bantam; she must therefore be provisioned at Masulipatam for four months. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS IVY, GEORGE TRAVELL, AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JANUARY 4, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 85).

Received theirs of November 11 on January 27. 'If it bee your pleasure to send the unfortunate planters[1] hither, we shall give them ground enough to worke uppon. Wee have herewith sent you transcript of a letter which wee received from Mr. Netlam out of the Bay, whereby you may perceive that Thomas Clarke, the Companies quondum factor, is there with one of the Curteene shipps[2], to settle a factory there and the shipp to take a freight for Persia; but what the event will prove we know not.' Will now advise what has passed since they last wrote, as fully as Ivy's indisposition will allow. 'Wee cannot take the Viz Royes letter unto you for anything else but complementall delutions[3]; for the Portugalls of St. Thome doe still continue and predominate more and more in theire insolencie, without givinge any satisfaction for theire affronts formerly and goods which thay have taken away from our inhabitants; but hath since, with the asistance of a great number [of] rogues which are gott into St. Thome for feare of the Moores, which rogues the Portugalls doe protect and live by the pillage which is brought into St. Thome by these theeves in these times of warre, where the country is without goverment or justice; soe that they stoppd the passage of our towne that nothing could goe in or out. Soe that wee were forced to draw part of the Moores army unto us to open the wayes; who presently uppon view of our letters came readily and willing with 700 horsemen and as many foote men to assist us; uppon which the rouges rann all into St. Thome. And presently came unto our fort the Padre Governadore [and?] Sr. John Penero from the Generall of St. Thome, beseeching us not to use any hostile way against them, and did confess that

[1] The survivors of Smart's colony.

[2] The *Rebecca*, which had been dispatched from Achin on August 25, 1646 (see Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 14,037, ff. 33, 40, &c.).

[3] Probably 'dilations' (i. e. procrastinations) was intended.

the old Generall was the occasion of all the injury which wee had received from the people of St. Thome, confessing that theire was noe reason but that we should have sattisfaction for all thinges, and gave soe much under theire hands.' Forward copies of various documents on the subject, as the question is to be settled between Surat and the Viceroy. Fear, however, that any settlement which may be come to will not be respected here; for 'these ill nurtered musteezes or mungrells of St. Thome doth little vallue theire Viz Roys comand. Otherwise these things had never happened. There is nothing will curbe these insolent people but force. Wee cannot expect any quietnes with St. Thome.' Beg therefore that both the *Francis* and the *Lanneret* may be sent hither. The 'abellest' will then be dispatched, while the other will be used to fetch provisions for the Fort, 'and, if occasion be, quell the insolencie of our badd neighbours of St. Thome. In our demand unto the Portugalls you will finde that we require of them 3,000 rials of eight for the charges wee were at to gratifye the Moores which [came] to our asistance; who willingly would have sett uppon St. Thome, but in regard of the Padre Governadore and [*sic*] Sr. John Pineros assignement, and there earnest intreating of us, wee dismissed the Moores, whom [*sic*] as readily and respectively departed as they came, with a present of 400 rials of eight value; yet notwithstanding wee have advised the Viz Roy of a 1000 rials of eight which wee gave them being to little for such a great curtezye done us by strangers, but especially freinds to us at present. The warres and fammine doth still furiously rage in these parts, and wee thinke that there wilbe a period sett unto the former before the latter; for the Anna Bobb[1] Meir Jumlah hath taken the goverment of Pullicatte and St. Thome, settinge the cuntry all in order as hee goeth along, and is now within two dayes martch of the Kings court and noe body commeth to oppose him, the fammine havinge almost destroyed all the kindome; for out of our little towne there hath dyed noe less then 3,000 people since September last; in Pullicatte, as report saith, 15,000; and in St. Thome no less. Soe that all the pramiters[2] and weavers are dead; soe that there cannot bee expected any quantitye of cloth to bee procured here

[1] *Al-Nawāb.*

[2] A copyist's error for 'painters'.

this three yeares.' Will, however, do their best to meet the requirements of Surat for the purposes of the Pegu investment. *PS.*—Enclose copies of two letters to Masulipatam. (*Copy. Original received March* 12.)

THOMAS SPENCER AT RĀJĀPUR TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JANUARY 7, 1647 (*O.C.* 2017).[1]

Left Goa December 27 and arrived here four days later. Encloses a letter from Farren at the former place. Understanding that the Company has still a quantity of saltpetre at Rāybāg, he offers to carry it to England at a reasonable freight. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

GEORGE TASH, HUGH FENN, AND ANTHONY SMITH AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JANUARY 12, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 43).

Have received the Surat letter of December 31. The time left to them is short, but they will do their best to get together the goods required. Provision of carpets for Basra; also of chintz. Money remitted to Tatta. Are glad that the three caravans arrived safely. Desire the early return of the servants who accompanied them. Have received a parwāna from the Governor freeing them from all duties on carts, &c., 'in as ample manner as from any his predecessors wee have had it.' The Dutch have also obtained licence for the transport of their saltpetre; and Mīr Mūsā, to whom that business is wholly referred, has assured the writers that they may commence their investment for the new year without fear of molestation. In accordance with the permission given in a letter from Surat just received, they will now make a start with that investment. Hope to provide shortly what is wanted for Bantam. *PS.*—Are much in need of a horse, and beg that they may either be furnished with one or be authorized to buy one here. (*Copy. Original received January* 18.)

[1] Another copy will be found at p. 51 of *Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A. The original letter was received on January 30.

Nicholas Buckeridge and Lawrence Cheny at Mokha to the President and Council at Surat, January 19, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 127).

This conveyance, 'per via Shoare[1]', is likely to reach Surat before the ships, and so they avail themselves of it to narrate what has passed since Oxenden's departure. After selling goods to the value of eight or nine thousand rials of eight, to be paid 'in Mosum[2]', the factors left Mokha on December 2 with the rest of their stock, hoping to sell it to the 'Emaume' at 'Taz' [Ta'izz]. They arrived there on the 7th, and proffered their goods to the Imām, who promised to let them know if he wanted any. While waiting for his decision, Cross and Buckeridge fell sick, and the former died on December 31. Buckeridge then wrote to the Imām for a definite answer, and was told in reply that he would buy nothing. Thereupon the factors hired a couple of warehouses in the 'carvansera', where they deposited their goods, and then repaired to Mokha to meet the expected ship and report to whoever might be in charge of her. Possibly he may order the goods to be sent up to 'Siman' [San'a] for sale. Here arrived, a few days since, 'the Kinge of Indias Cambait [Cambay] jounke, with a small towrim [*see the* 1637–41 *volume*, p. 42] without the Portugalls passe'. They reported having met near 'Dufar' [*Ibid.*, p. 210] a Europe ship bound for Surat, which had been 19 months on her voyage.[3] She told them that two others were behind, bound for the same port. Trust all three will arrive in safety. (*Copy. Original received April* 28.)

John Spiller, Henry Garry, Nicholas Scrivener and Gilbert Harrison at Tatta to the President and Council at Surat, January 21, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 53).

Sale of tobacco and broadcloth. Trade has been very dead; though, now that a ship has arrived richly laden, some of the merchants have commenced to invest. There being no demand

[1] Shehr or Shuhair, on the southern coast of Arabia.

[2] Arabic *mausim*, 'season,' particularly the pilgrim season, which was also the chief period of business activity. This word is the origin of the familiar 'monsoon'.

[3] The *Antelope* (see p. 96).

for baftas, prices at Nasarpur are two rupees per corge lower than last year; would be glad, therefore, to receive early instructions if any purchases be intended. Forwarded 500 rupees to Kandiāro at the beginning of the month, and would have sent more, had new rupees been obtainable. As fast, however, as money is coined, the merchants here pay it to the King's dīwān in satisfaction of advances made by him. The result is 'such a scarcity that merchants that trade up in the country are faine to runne all over the towne for a 100 rupees, and then perchance not gett them neither, as wee had experience off, though we payd one per cento for exchange of old for new.' Probably before long the rate will be higher, besides the loss of time in getting the rupees; and all this will be a hindrance to the investment. Cannot get any money by exchange; so have written to Ahmadābād for a remittance. As soon as they can collect six or seven thousand rupees, Spiller and other factors will proceed to Kandiāro. The bearer carries with him their accounts, 'made up in mumjamah' [Hind. *momjāma*, 'wax-cloth'] and sealed; they trust he will arrive in safety, 'though it is here reported the wayes now, sinces the Princes removall from Ahmad[abad], are grown somewhat dangerous betweene Cutch and that place.' Request early instructions as to the investment, and speedy provision of the necessary means. *P.S.* (22nd)[1]—Have just received letters from Ahmadābād, enclosing one from Surat, to which they answer as follows. Note the arrival of the *Hart*; also the scarcity of tobacco at Surat. Have sold all that they received, and could have disposed of a great deal more. Dāūd Khān duly acquainted the Shāhbandar 'how much you had assisted him towards the finishing and bringing hither that vessell of the Princes'; but that official was not well pleased with the task of finding cargo for her, for the ship is so big that she is likely to go to Mokha little more than half full; 'it being soe hard a time with the merchants that many of them have little heart to trade.' Particulars of the piece-goods sent in the *Crispiana*. Prospects of next season's supplies. If any indigo is likely to be wanted, early orders should be sent; advise that at least a little should be bought to give encouragement to 'the poore makers thereof'. Cannot promise any coloured baftas; but, if

[1] A copy of this postscript forms *O.C.* 2020.

patterns be supplied, they will get some dyed as an experiment. (*Copy. Original received February* 12.)

Thomas Ivy, George Travell, and William Gurney at Fort St. George to the President and Council at Surat, January 21, 1647 (*O.C.* 2019).[1]

'The famine is so great in this kingdome that wee beleive it will bee the destruction thereof. For there hath not fallen any rayne this yeare for the increase of any graine to releive the people, and now the season of the raynes are past; so that, if the Allmighty doe not send supply from other parts, the country will be so dispopulated that it will bee unpossible to recover it selfe againe in five yeares time. Therefore we earnestly beseech yow to send us by the shipping yow intend hither in Aprill or May next, 100 or two[2] tunns ordinary rice to preserve the lives of those few painters, weavers, and washers which remaine aboute us; by which meanes wee shall bee the better able to comply with yow in the Pegu investment. And no question but the rice will yeald cent. per cent. proffitt; for tis worth here at present two rials of eight the hundred pound weight, and by May or June next no question but it will yeald halfe as much more. Likewise we would intreate yow to supply us with tenn Englishmen to serve here as soldyers, for mortallity and the Moores campp hath taken all away to 25 persons, whereof four or five are continually sick with the misserie of the times; for we have not, nor is here any thing to bee bought, to relive any sick person, unless hee will eate carryon beife, which wee procure out of the Moores campp, which we obtaine by much favour. This is our missery; yet our freinds at Messulapatam will not bee sencible of this, notwithstanding our many and earnest requests unto them to send us some provissions from thence to releive us; and wee are now driven to that pass that we are forced to goe to lowance of rice, and are not able to subsist longer then 5 or 8 daies. Our wants are such that we are ashamd to make it knowne. Wee allso intreat yow to send us twentie baggs of wheate for our howse expence.' (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

[1] There is another copy in *Factory Records, Surat,* vol. cii A (p. 88). This gives the date of receipt as March 12.

[2] The other copy has '1000', but this is probably an error.

[Andrew] Trumball at Gombroon to the President at Surat, January 23, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 51).

Arrived here on the 21st, both ship and crew having been miraculously preserved. The only death was that of a 'blackmoore', who was already ill when he embarked. (*Copy. Original received February* 12.)

Robert Heynes and Thomas Best at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, January 24, 1647 (*O.C.* 2022).[1]

Owing to Wilton's sickness, Heynes was unable to leave Ispahān till December 17. He reached this place four days ago. The *Falcon* had not then arrived from Masulipatam, though he found here five of her men who had landed near Cape Jask and reported that she was in sore distress for water.[2] To their great relief, however, she appeared in sight the next morning; for the events of her voyage they refer to Andrew Trumball's narrative. Will do their best to dispose of the goods received in her. Their pepper is in no demand. Now remit 500 tūmāns by the Dutch *Delftshaven*. Have bought eleven horses, of which five will be sent to Masulipatam and the rest to Surat. Will write more fully later. (*Copy.* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Received February* 12.)

President Breton, Thomas Merry, and William Pitt at Swally Marine to the Company, January 25, 1647 (*Ibid.*, 2023).[3]

The Company's letter of October 31 [1645], sent overland, did not reach Basra until April 10 [1646]; it was forwarded from thence to Gombroon, and so via Tatta to Surat, where it arrived October 12, a week after the duplicate, which had been brought direct from Gombroon by the Dutch *Valkenburg*. Its late receipt, however, should not 'disanimate' the Company from using this method of transmission, since, if their letters be dispatched a little earlier and the Consul at Aleppo be instructed to forward them by

[1] Another copy will be found at p. 59 of vol. cii a of *Factory Records*, *Surat*.

[2] See *O.C.* 2014 and 2018.

[3] There is a copy in the *O.C. Duplicates*

an express messenger, they will arrive here by April 1 and thus give timely notice of the Company's requirements. The *Dolphin* from England did not manage to reach this place until November 1. She brought a letter from the Company dated April 6 [1646], and copies of two previous ones of October 31 [1645] and March 26 [1646]. The *Antelope*, *Greyhound*, *Dolphin*, and *William* set out in company, losing sight of England on April 29. On May 13, near Grand Canary, the *William* left the others and pursued her voyage to Bantam alone. The remaining three kept company until June 13[1], two days after passing the Equator; when Proud, the master of the *Dolphin*, finding that his vessel sailed much better than his consorts and fearing to lose his voyage, 'left them; and, for the more expeditious atteining India, came to the eastward of St. Laurence, without touching at any place untill the 6th October, that he anchored at Bassalore [*see* p. 48], where he continued two daies to refresh his wearied and indisposed company; but not receiving such enterteinment as he expected from the Captain of that place, proceeded from thence to Rajapore and arived the 16th, where he found the *Ruth*, belonging to Mr. Curtyn, and many of the poor distressed St. Laurence planters landed out of her.' The *Dolphin* left again on October 22, and reached Swally ten days later. Nothing has been heard of her two consorts, and it is feared that they cannot now arrive till about the middle of April. Note the dislike expressed in the Company's letters to the way in which the *Dolphin's* invoice was prepared. Lament the death of Fremlen; also the loss of the *Discovery*. Much regret the lessened demand in Europe for indigo, which is 'one of the chief supporters of your trade'. 'It was also some years passed in the like disesteem in Persia, Bussora, and Mocha; whither little being transported, the Dutch and we, having also contracted to buy togither and share equally in the Biana sort and such other as is bought about Agra, being very sensible how prejudicious competition in that investment hath formerly been to both Companies, reduced it unto the prizes that was bought at sent you upon the *Dolphin* and *Crispino*; which so impoverished the proprietors that they were much disanimated in the making that specie; wherupon the Dutch the ensuing year relinquished their agreement and

[1] *O.C.* 2026 says '10th'.

enhaunced the price to what you will find that to cost sent you home upon the *Eagle*. Since again we have renewed our former conditions, and both the passed year and this have bought in joint company; yet the price rather rises then declines, in regard Persia and Bussora begin again to vend that comodity, which causeth many buyers.' Ordered the provision of 500 bales, but have only been able to get 461; of these, 400 are sent home in the *Dolphin*, and the rest reserved for Basra. Trust that the indigo will be found to be pure, as the buyers affirm that they have been very careful. This season, it is feared, not more than 400 bales will be procurable, 'so great is the scarcity of that which is good.' Half this quantity has been bought already, at from 39 to 41 rupees per maund. Regret that some of the Agra indigo sent in the *Dolphin* [in 1644] was so bad, as shown by the sample now forwarded from England. It was bought by Turner, who has since died. The sample has been transmitted to Agra for inquiry and as a warning to the present buyers, who have been earnestly cautioned to be careful in this respect; it is, however, impossible for them to 'see all that they buy, it being acquired in many severall places, at great distance'. Feel bound to notice, in conclusion, 'your warehousemans blunt[1] observations upon that comodity, which, comming recommended from you, we expected would have proved a judicious, sollid discourse of the busines; in liew wherof we find only a few scurrilous abusive rimes, which, because we believe you have not yet seen, we return unto you, humbly entreating you that in the future, when we transgress (which inevitably will befall us), you will please to reprove us your selves, and not leave us to the censure of those who carelessly cast upon us their uncivill epethites, for ought we know, more due to themselves then us.' As for the Sarkhej indigo sent in the *Eagle*, though poor, it was the best they could get. This year they have only been able to procure 200 bales, at a cost of from 19 to 22½ rupees per maund; these are now shipped upon the *Dolphin*. They have also, as an experiment, bought a quantity of indigo leaf and employed an experienced man to make it into indigo, a quantity of which is now forwarded; but, as the cost has been about 25 rupees per maund, they will not continue that course without

[1] A play upon the name of the Company's Warehouse Keeper (John Blount).

express orders from home. Have now abandoned the practice of 'chesting' indigo and saltpetre, owing to its inconvenience. 'We have also, according to your directions, inhibited that auncient custome of mixing sand with the Ahmuda[bad] indico; so that you will not find any amongst that now sent.' Cannot discover how it was that sand was mixed with the Agra indigo; have given strict orders to prevent a recurrence. As regards the substitution of whole bales or chests of dirt for indigo, they are hoping to prevent any such abuse by weighing the bales on receipt at Rānder and again at Swally, and by affixing the Company's seal to each. Private trade they have done their best to stop, 'not only by fixing a publick inhibition upon the ships mainmasts but by private admonitions to the masters' and by keeping a strict watch to prevent the goods being carried aboard. Understanding that some had been 'chopped' at the customhouse and then smuggled down at night, they complained to the Governor, but he replied that 'he stood obliged to advance the Kings customes what he might, and so resolved to do'. They are endeavouring to procure a good quantity of broad baftas of Surat, Broach, and Baroda, and now send 4,080 pieces by the *Dolphin*. These are not entirely satisfactory, either in quality or dimensions; but they cannot hold the weavers to stricter conditions, 'so unwilling are they to work upon that sort of cloth, which, if, after made, we refuse, remains upon their hands unvendible.' Of narrow baftas from the same places they send 12,400 pieces; and have also reserved a quantity for Bantam. Deny that the purchase of these is left to brokers; in reality they take great pains in the business. 'Mercools and Dereabads (but especially the former) have of late years much declined in goodnes'; however, they doubt not that the present consignments will give satisfaction. They have ordered 15,000 pieces of the former and 20,000 of the latter for next season, with special caution to the buyers as to quality. Of the 'Dereabads', half are to be bleached at 'Lucknow' and half at Broach. The deadness of trade at Basra has brought down the price of Sind piece-goods, which are now very reasonable in price and are said to be 'lately bettered in the make'. Orders have been given for the purchase of 20,000 pieces. Those desired of 15 yards long have to be purposely made, as the ordinary length is 12 yards.

The *Dolphin* carries home 10,480 pieces, besides 53 bales of indigo and 9 bales of saltpetre, all from Sind. Of 'Guldars, Ferratt Ckauns, and Sallooes' only four bales are sent; these goods are brought from Golconda and could more cheaply be procured from the Coast. Their efforts to improve the Ahmadābād 'chints' and quilts have had little effect, and in future they intend to buy such goods at Burhānpur, 'where the painters are said to be better artists.' Sixty bales of cotton yarn forwarded. 'Drugs, since the Portugals have peace and send yearly two or three ships for Europe, are not brought hither by the Arrabs as formerly, they finding better vent for them at Goa.' Have tried to procure aloes and olibanum at Mokha, but without success. Send, however, some olibanum they had on hand; also a quantity of myrrh. No 'tinkal' [borax] or gumlac forwarded, as so much of each was sent last year. Have forborne to purchase any Guinea stuffs, hoping thus to induce the weavers to improve their work. Seedlac and shellac forwarded; also pepper and cardamoms. In their last they narrated the trouble they had had over their saltpetre at Ahmadābād, 'that humerous Prince which then governed neither suffering us to transport or refine what we had bought.' They therefore ordered a quantity at Rāybāg and sent a man thither to refine it. The *Dolphin* went to Rājāpur to fetch it; but upon her arrival (November 15) found that 'the farm of that comodity was transferred unto Mustafa Ckaun, who hath imposed extraordinary taxes upon it, with which yours lyeth burthened and cannot yet upon any reasonable tearms be redeemed. So that the 13th ultimo she returned without it, and must without any considerable quantity of that specie have gon for England, if the Ahmudabad Prince had not happely and very seasonably been removed about the 30th of November.' Thereupon Tash and the other factors at once hastened the refining, with the result that 208 bales are now shipped. For next season a quantity of raw saltpetre has been ordered from 'Malpore', to be refined in Ahmadābād; and besides that, and the quantity at Rāybāg, they hope to procure some from Agra. 'Guyney shels or cowries (as you have been enformed) come in greatest quantities from the Maldevaes, whither there is a frequent trade driven by small vessels from this place and consequently no want of them'; ten bales now sent. Cannot

procure any cinnamon, as the Portuguese 'either dare not, or will not be induced so much as to treat with us in the busines; so that we shall not only at present wholly fail you therin, but even dispair of supplying you hereafter, if here be not a breach betwixt the Portugals and Dutch, which is much feared by the former and more desired by the latter.' The accounts of the First General Voyages were cleared and the balance remitted by the *Eagle*; regret that their action was not approved. No news was heard of the *Supply* until April 23, when a Surat junk brought letters from Achin, in which her merchants advised that she left Manilla on December 30 [1645] and reached Achin on January 31. It was, however, May 25 before she anchored at Bombay, and there she had to winter. Although the Manilla business 'hath not been negotiated without much trouble, even from the beginning, during the whole time of your servants residence, yet the profit of the place is such that we heartely wish the trade might be confirmed unto you by the King of Spain, without which we are possitively prohibited, upon forfeiture of ship and goods, to return any more, so fearfull is that Governor &c. Kings officers of displeasing their master; who otherwise, with the whole city, would gladly entertein us.' For details of what passed at Manilla they refer to the factors' letter [*missing*]. The books will show a clear gain by the venture of over 40,000 rials of eight, and this might have been increased had the goods been more suited to the market. Enclose a list of what might be sold in a year there, showing that a cargo of Surat and Coast goods costing 249,042 mahmūdīs would produce 138,970 rials of eight.[1] 'Yet this calculation is made according to those limited conditions unto which they were confined; otherwise, might the trade be freely enjoid without interuption or restreint, it is thought double the quantity of goods here inlisted would vend, and to much more advance. And that which confirmes both them and us in this opinion is that at the *Supplies* arivall, before any of her goods were landed, they were profered by severall merchants of the place more then 200,000 rials of eight in monies, to be repaid in goods at prizes current, in hopes their sale would have been so seasonably licensed that they might have had them to transport upon the ships then bound for New Spain; but that

[1] At five mahmūdīs to the rial of eight this would mean a profit of nearly 180 per cent.

could not be graunted them, nor were they permitted to land their goods until after departure of the said ships; which prejudiced the sale at least 20 per cent.' Moreover, 'that place vends very large quantities of raw China silk, by which it is said the Chinezes double the principall; and your factors are of opinion that Persian silk would also sell in good quantities to very considerable advance; but this is only conjecturall.' No further attempt has been made to trade with Macao, as the Portuguese, having now peace with the Dutch, would certainly not allow such competition. Note that the Company has decided 'to translate the mannagement of the Maniela busines' to the Bantam Presidency, 'for such reasons as are best known unto yourselves.' If a ship be sent with iron and saltpetre, she will doubtless be well received; but she will 'run an eminent hazard of being discovered by the Dutch, who in all places not only keep a watchfull eye over our actions, but have shipping constantly before the Manielies; with which the *Supply* encountred and was visited by them; where if they had found such unlawfull goods, we believe they would have made no scruple of seizing them, the ship, and the rest of her carga[zoon]; which deterred us from sending any of them.' Promise their best assistance to the Bantam factors in the matter, for which purpose they intend to dispatch the *Francis* thither with piece-goods. Will also warn the Coast factors to prepare a similar consignment. Bantam can add nothing to the cargo, as pepper is in no demand at Manilla. The reason why the Surat accounts were not forwarded, as promised, with their letter of March 31, 1645, was that they were not ready, owing to Merry's serious illness; but they have since been sent by the *Eagle*. Note the Company's disapproval of their dealings with Knipe and his companions; but they still think they were justified in employing him at Agra rather than in keeping him idle at Surat on so large a salary. He will be sent home by the next shipping; and meanwhile his servant Buckner returns in the *Dolphin*. The cordage and other stores advised as sent by the *Antelope* will be very welcome for 'your Indian shipping'. Desire to be supplied with a ropemaker, if possible the one who went home in the *Eagle*. Even had the *Greyhound* and *Antelope* arrived in time, they could not possibly have been returned now with the goods desired, for neither refined

saltpetre nor cotton yarn can be quickly procured. They might, however, have sent one back laden with the pepper received from Achin; but this has now been dispatched to Basra by the *Francis* and to Gombroon by the *Endeavour* and *Seahorse*. All three sailed in company on January 8. Trade at Basra is very poor, owing to the competition of the Dutch and others; 'however, that your shipping may be kept in employment, we must continue that trade, though this year we intend but a very small carga[zoon] . . . therby to clear, as near as we can, all former remains.' The receipt given by the Dutch for provisions supplied to them at the Cape by the *Endeavour* was forwarded to Bantam for recovery of the value. Hope that Courteen will maintain his refusal to accept his 4,500*l*. It would be only reasonable if the Company detained the money until he paid his debts 'and cleared his people of these countries; which we doubt he will have some difficulty to do, and which makes us very fearfull of trading where they are, doubting your estate should be attached to pay their debts'. Note that Courteen's ship *William* proceeded from India to Leghorn; also 'how prejudiciall her comming thither hath been unto your markets'. Were glad to hear that the calico bales have not of late been cut open and their contents purloined; the former losses were probably the fault of the guard at Swally Marine. 'We the passed year, for a very small matter of charge, caused a convenient peece of ground at the Marine to be encompassed with a strong hedge of thornes,[1] wherin we keep all goods that are either brought down out of the country or landed from your ships, under lock and key; so that none can enter therin but your Marine factor or whom he pleaseth to license; besides which there being a guard without, it is almost impossible your goods should there receive any such like prejudice.' Promise their best endeavours to prevent private trade; but think a more effectual course would be for the Company to dismiss every one found guilty of such practices. 'Baftaes made of guzzees cannot be procured of one dimention, that sort of cloth being made of severall lengthes and sold by the 100 covids.' Cannot hope to give content as to dry ginger, the best here procurable 'being that of small races,

[1] This piece of ground was afterwards 'lost by the sea gaining upon itt' (Wilson's *Early Annals*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 269).

by you disliked, and the large races are of a more spungy substance and subject to rottenness; besides, it is now scarce and very dear'. Have ordered sugar from Agra, 'where the best and best cheap may be procured. It was not strange that the *Endeavour* made but a small fraught from the Coast to Persia, nor will your ships hereafter make any at all, the Serkail[1], who is owner of many jounks, having inhibited all merchants the lading of their goods upon any ships but his, either for Persia, Bussora, or Mocha. He still continues yearly to require the freedome of customes (or your part therof) for such goods as he sends to Gomroon for his own accompt; and that he must be gratified therin, your Coast factors pretend a necessity; wherunto we do the rather assent, in regard he is very courteous and respective towards them and favours them in whatever in reason they can desire. Besides, it is not at all prejudiciall unto you in your customes, your proportion or allowance not being therby at all decreased, as you will perceive by the last years proportion, which amounts unto 650 tomands, besides 80 tomands afterwards recovered for goods custom'd after your servants were gone from port.' The Company's instructions about Gombroon have been transmitted to the factors there. Commend the broadcloths now received, and desire one hundred pieces yearly. Greens are much inquired after at Agra; while in Persia 'this comodity begins to grow in good request'. Regret that the Company refuses to credit their assurances as to the care taken here in weighing and telling the money received from England. 'The Peru ryals are not only very light but of a course alloy; yet have been hitherto sold at 208¼ rupees the cent. But the sheroffs have long complained of their losse therby, which they have lately made appear in publick unto the Governor and merchants of this place; yet are they expressly commanded, at our instant request upon arival of our Bussora monies, to take all that comes this monsoon at the same rate. But we believe the next year they will not yield more then 204 rupees; so that, if you can possibly avoid it, we entreat you send us none of them. By what standard these people weigh their ryals we know not, for want of weights to compare them; but for

[1] The *Sar-Khail* or chief revenue official at Golconda (see the 1634–36 volume, p. 325).

your satisfaction therin, we the last year sent you the just weight of a ryal; which, though you should find different from that now in use, cannot be remedied, in regard millions of other monies besides yours yearly pass here by the same; which these people will not be induced to alter, nor, if they would, will the King suffer it.' The *Dolphin* brought 84 ingots of silver, 16,995 Florence crowns, and 3,005 rials of eight. The ingots varied in fineness, and did not realize as much as those received by the *Crispiana*. The Florence crowns fetched 261 rupees per hundred, which is at a better rate than the ingots; 'and if crownes and ducatoons may be procured, they are the best species you can send for these parts.' The rials (partly Seville and partly Mexico) were sold at the usual rates. The fine broadcloths sent in the *Greyhound* will be used either for presents or for sale; but knives are only acceptable as gifts. Beg a larger supply of quills and copperas [for ink]. The Portuguese have of late brought so much coral that it is in no request here. That sent in the *Dolphin* was forwarded to Rājāpur, but came back unsold; and no customer can be found for it here. Cannot tell whether it would be vendible on the Malabar Coast, as they have no 'shipping of force sufficient to venter thither alone'; but in all probability the Portuguese have supplied those parts. Not more than 15 or 20 chests should be sent in future. After much negotiation their lead was sold to the Governor at 8½ mahmūdīs per maund, except a small quantity shipped to Mokha, which fetched there 2¼ rials 'the frasala [*see the* 1637–41 *volume*, p. 204] of 29 pounds'. Advise that none be sent for a year or two, since it is so dear in England. No part of the present consignment has yet been disposed of, 'in regard this Governor, Mirza Amena, is lately displaced, and Mirza Alle Eckbar, our auncient friend, appointed to succeed him, not yet arived.' Enclose the present prices of quicksilver, vermilion, elephants' teeth, &c., in case the Company should be thereby encouraged to 'remember us hereafter'. The *Supply*, both in going to and returning from Manilla, was courteously treated by the Governor of Malacca; 'by which appears that the Dutch Generals threats to our Bantam friends was only to fright them from a profitable trade, which that you should enjoy, it is most certain they do much repine. Yet we hope that both it and your trade in general may hereafter flourish maugre their mallice.' Besides the men allotted to them for

service here, some of the *Dolphin's* crew have been taken ashore in exchange for others that have served long in the country and wish to return home. Amongst those thus sent to England is 'one Johnson, a deboist sot who, when the Danes were in trouble at the Manielies (discovered to be spies emploid by the Dutch General) . . . would have brought your estate, ship, and servants into the same condition, and endeavoured it, only wanted language to make himself understood; of him we entreat you take notice that he may return no more into your service.[1] There is also another, one Anthony Perry, who the last year was exceedingly distracted, and though now recovered is subject to relapses and in his fits very dangerous.' As for the debt for Sir Francis Crane's tapestry, 'we cannot yet recover any part of it, by reason of the Kings remote distance, who hath many monthes spent his time in the conquest of the kingdome of Bullock [Balkh], a part of Tartaria, and is at present very intent theron; so that nothing can be done in the busines untill his return, Raja Chuttersall being emploid in that service. But from him we must never expect payment nor ought but delaies and delusions; as we have sufficiently experimented by the last express order (sudainly after we had presented the King) given him to satisfy the debt; which he then fairly promised should be done at his return into his country; whither he went not long after, accompanied by two of our house servants, unto whom he promised payment of the mony; who continued with him many daies, enterteined with fair hopes of satisfaction, but urging him more importunately to discharge his engagements, he possitively affirmed that hee had nothing remaning but his sword and his horse, and that what before he pretended was only to please the King and content us for that time; wherupon, all other means having failed, we resolved to sell his debt to the King, who only can discompt it out of his service; wherin we moved Assalutt Ckaun, who promised us his assistance therin; but (as said) the Kings absence hindreth our further progress in the busines.' Note the orders to supply the Bantam factors with goods to the value of 20,000 rials out of the money now received; but desire instructions whether this is to be in addition to the goods now sent thither yearly. John Chambers, who came in the *Dolphin*, is at present 'kept close to wryting in our office, wherunto he

[1] 'But he is dead on the waie home' (*marginal note*)

applyeth himself very seriously; and although his present employment be of little use unto you, being but a learner, we doubt not but in short time he wilbe able to do you service. He is, according to your order, accommodated with dyet and lodging; in other things his father hath provided for him.'[1] Have informed the pursers of the Company's orders that no money should be 'delivered or entered unto your seamen but what issues out of your cash,[2] that the one-thirds of their wages be not exceeded.' Have also noted, from Proud's commission, 'what tolleration you have given unto your servants', and have strictly charged the latter not to exceed these limits. The Armenians who were granted passage in the *Dolphin*[3] arrived safely and were very grateful for the favour; also one who came by way of Bantam. Return 'condigne thanks' for the wine and beer sent for use here, and the chest of chirurgery. Some of the medicines had been spoiled by heat and five of the bottles were found to be broken; advise that in future cordials should be put into 'pewter potts'. 'Mr. Isaackson, the *Johns* minister, took his passage the passed year upon the *Falcon* to Mocha and from thence voiaged in her to Madraspatam, where (according to your orders) he is now resident and will, we doubt not, by his doctrine and example (being of a very civill and fair deportment) work a reformation in that disordered place, or at least perfect what your Agent therin had left undone.' Having now replied on all points mentioned in the Company's letters, they proceed to deal with other matters. Both at Gombroon and Ispahān the markets last year were 'exceeding dead, in part occationed by the Dutches differances with the Persian, but chiefly the King of Persia his inhibition of trade with Turky, by reason of some injuries the Turks at Bagdatt offered the present Ettomon Dowlutt and other Persians in their pilgrimage to Mecha.' Account of goods on hand in Persia. The Dutch in that country having obtained the privilege of buying silk from whom they pleased, the English factors endeavoured to procure the same favour, but without avail, in spite of the 'exceeding large' presents given to the young King, &c. However, a fresh attempt will be

[1] See *Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 134.

[2] From a marginal note it appears that payment was to be made at the rate of 5*s*. per rial of eight.

[3] *Court Minutes* 1644–49, p. 139.

made, if the Dutch be allowed to enjoy that privilege freely, which is doubtful. Account of the voyage of the *Francis* to Suakin, where her goods were sold at a profit of 62 per cent. The results of the trading at Mokha were not nearly so good, 'nor can better be expected so long as Moores yearly encrease in shipping and have freedome of trade.' The *Supply*, in her return from Manilla, brought away from Achin Turner and the other factors, leaving only Francis Scattergood and a seaman in charge of the warehouse and the remaining goods. That place vends but slowly, and to make a profit it is necessary to have a good stock in hand. Underrating the capacity of the *Supply*, the factors had bought a small frigate there to carry away any surplus; but finding this unnecessary, they paid for her themselves, filled her with a cargo, and brought her away in company with the *Supply*. The two parted company off Cochin, and Bowman, who was in charge of the frigate, took her into Goa, on the pretext that the weather was stormy but really, it is thought, for the purpose of selling her cargo. On his arrival there, 'meeting with ill company, Bowman first became a Roman Catholike, afterwards renounced your service, and, with the frigatt and whatever her carga[zoon] produced, is fled to Ceiloan, whence (report saith) he intends to proceed for the bottome of the Bay of Bengala and there spend the rest of his misserably unhappy daies amongst the Portugez renegadoes, if we cannot prevent him, which (by our advices to the Vice Roy, of whom we have desired warrant to attach him, if we find him within his jurisdiction) we hope to do, but as yet hear not any thing further of him. The Englishmen which were in his company he left at Goa and are since arived unto us. There also he delivered unto Lewis Riberio your Acheen accompts to be sent us, which we have received and perused; which, for ought we yet discover, are perfect; so that we cannot imagine this strange and evill course was premeditated by him, but that he was by his wicked consorts at Goa seduced therunto.' Before leaving that city he wrote a few lines to Surat, announcing that he intended to return to Goa; 'but that, we suppose, was to gain time, thinking therby to prevent our sudain pursute of him; for from Lewis Riberio (who would have stopt his proceedings, and endeavoured it, had he not betaken himself unto the protection of the Inquisition) we are assured he means no such matter.' Turner, whether grieved at the loss he

had sustained or fearing the Company's displeasure, fell sick soon after the news arrived, and died November 20, 1646. Possibly his illness was due to his overland journey from Bombay, whence (on news of the arrival of the *Supply* there) he and the other factors were ordered to come at once to Surat, bringing with them the treasure from Manilla. Before they started, the rains set in and the ways became impassable for coaches or oxen, thus necessitating the engagement of porters for the treasure. 'And to encrease the charge, in the interim of their comming to Damon, one of these bordering Governors dyed, wherby the waies immediatly became exceeding dangerous; so that, notwithstanding we sent many soldiers from hence and hyred as many as could be procured in Damon, the Captain and Padres of that place seriously advized us not to venter the treasure, but rather let it there attend a sea conveighance, pretending that, in that moist time, both bowes and firelocks would be unserveceable; which we well knowing, as also how little trust or confidence we might (if occation should require) put in these hyred soldiers, yet being unwilling to lose three or four months time, caused it to be ensured from Damon unto Suratt at one per cent.; and so the 8th of July they with it arived in safety unto us.' The *Seahorse* and *Hind* returned from Gombroon in the middle of April last. The latter was thereupon dispatched (April 23) to Madraspatam, where she arrived on May 29. The Agent there intended to depart in her to Bantam; but, finding his means insufficient to clear the factory of debts, decided to await supplies from Bantam. These did not arrive until July 3, when the *Seaflower* came in, bringing President Baker; 'who continued there, to negotiate such busines as from you he received directions for, untill the 10th August, when, leaving Agent Ivy to continue one year longer at the Coast, he returned in the *Hynd* . . . ; and the *Seaflower*, proving very defective, was dispeeded to Narsapore, to be there repair'd. With him the President carried Mr. Penniston, Mr. Greenhill, and some others; so that the Coast is left very bare of factors; nor is there busines for many, they being destitute both of means and employment. Only the Persian investment kept them in action, with monies borrowed of Virge Vora; which was so seasonably provided that the *Falcon*, which with 25,000 rials of eight set sail from Mocha the 23th June [and] arived at

Madraspatam the 29th July, was again dispeeded for Persia the 14 of October.' She might have sailed a month sooner, had she not been detained in the hope of obtaining freight goods. Meanwhile, she made 500 rials by carrying rice on freight from Masulipatam. Value of her cargo for Gombroon. The 25,000 rials remitted from Mokha were intended to repay the loan of 20,000 from Vīrjī Vōra and also some local borrowings. The latter debts were settled at once; but the big loan '(in regard your servants would els have remained idle) we resolved to continue, having received very authentick advices what profitable voiages are made from thence to Pegu, and therupon gave them directions to invest the said monies in goods propper for that place . . . and for transport therof we have designed the *Lanerett* at the close of the monsoon, and in her Thomas Breton to take his passage to the Coast (they being in want of factors), where he may either continue, to assist in your busines, or proceed on the voiage to Pegu, as your Agent &c. shall think fit to enorder, we having referred the mannagement therof unto them.' The *Seahorse* was dispatched to Achin on May 2, under the charge of Philip Wylde and Matthew Downs. They arrived there on June 4, 'and had the customes graunted free for that ships lading, but cannot yet attein a general confirmation of the same.' The *Seahorse* sailed on her return voyage on October 30, leaving the factors behind, and reached this place on December 21. 'That the market may not be overlaid, we intend to divide the carga[zoon] this year, and land only the half of it at Acheen and with the other half make tryall of the market at Johore, a port a little without the Streights of Mallacca, whither the last year a jounck of this place made a very good voiage; and in that employment the ship will spend her time much better then to continue so long as they use to ride in Acheen, which this voiage (God preserve us from the like hereafter) hath proved a very fatall place, the *Seahors* having lost 16 men, wherof seven dyed by sicknes and nine were unhappely cast away upon that dangerous bar.' On shore Richard Fisher and Matthew Downs died. The *Supply* lost eight men at Bombay, and the *Endeavour* a similar number in her voyage to Basra. In Surat six have deceased, viz. John Turner, Thomas Hill, Henry Hunt, John Johnson, Thomas Hunter (corporal), and Richard Burridge (cook).

The *Hart*, under James Bearblock, left Bantam July 31 and arrived here on October 2, with pepper and other goods. She was then sent to 'Tuttha' [Tatta], where she arrived on November 29, and after embarking the goods the factors had ready, sailed on December 9 and reached Swally on the 23rd. She has been trimmed and is now about to return to Bantam. The *Francis* left Suakin on July 18, reached Mokha July 27, and departed thence on August 17, in company with the *Lanneret*, arriving here on September 12. Both vessels were then brought into the river and repaired. The *Supply* left Bombay on September 16 and anchored in Swally Hole on the 26th; she is now being trimmed, with the intention of sending her first to Persia (if freight goods are forthcoming) and then to Achin and Johore. The *Endeavour* sailed from Basra on October 19; reached Gombroon on the 30th; sailed again on November 4, and arrived here December 4. Pitt and Codrington came in her from Persia; also Cranmer and Walwyn from Basra. 'The Shawbunder of Tuttha, besides a ship he bought of the Captain of Damon for his master, this eldest Prince, contracted with the Captain of Choul for another of about 250 tonns, and entreated our assistance in bringing her hither, in which service Mr. Thomas Watmer was emploid, and came with her in company of the *Supply* from Bombay; but being arived, [she] was disliked of this Governor and the Princes servant, for being (as the *Supply*) in the major part calked work and not rabited, which building is only known to these people; wherupon they would not accept of her, and to return her would have been chargeable and dangerous; which induced her owner to profer [her] unto us upon reasonable tearms; when, considering how earnestly the President &c., from Bantam importuned us for shipping and men, and that the *Francis* (though hitherto very fortunate) was of too small force to voiage these seas alone, we resolved to send her to Bantam and buy this, she being (as said) of about 250 tonns, of a very handsome mould, strong, and well conditioned, two decks flush, and may with a small charge be made a very defensible ship as any we have, to carry 20 or 24 pieces of ordnance; but besides these reasons, that which mainly conduced therunto was that here then wanted shipping for transport of large quantities of goods ready for Gomroon. So that the 27th of

October we came to an agreement with him for 13,500 rupees; and, she being fitted with all things ready for a voiage, imediately dispeeded her into Swally Hole, where she and the *Lanerett* were laden and set sail for Gomroon the 2d. December.' The new ship has been named the *Expedition*; and they propose to increase her carrying capacity by removing two large water tanks which at present fill a good part of the hold. Amounts received for the freight in the two vessels. The Dutch *Nassau*, which arrived January 11, brought intelligence that both ships reached Gombroon on December 17, 'as expeditious a voiage as we have known made.' Nothing had been heard at that port of the *Falcon*. The *Francis*, laden with pepper for Gombroon, left Swally on December 2, but, meeting with the *Endeavour*, richly laden, she (as ordered) returned in her company to guard her from Malabar pirates. A fresh start was made on January 8, but this time for Basra. With the *Francis* departed the *Seahorse* and the *Endeavour*, both bound for Persia. On their return, it is intended to dispatch the *Endeavour* to Basra, and the *Lanneret* and *Seahorse* again to Gombroon, whence they are to proceed to Madraspatam. From that place the *Seahorse* will next September voyage to Gombroon. Request sanction for the increases of salary granted in a consultation of December 18. William Pitt, Nathaniel Tems, and John Mantell go home in the *Dolphin*. Pitt has applied for a gratuity, on the ground that his salary has been small and his late post in Persia involved him in heavy expense, but he has been referred to the Company. Commend Tems, who has served for many years under the Accountant at mean wages, and to whom they have in recognition of this given a gratuity of 600 mahmūdīs. Mantell goes home in obedience to the Company's orders; otherwise they would gladly have retained his services. Pitt has been allowed 400, and Tems 200, mahmūdīs towards 'sea provisions'. Adam Lee and Robert Bowen, late commanders of the *Supply* and *Endeavour*, are likewise proceeding to England; both are recommended for further employment. Roger Griffin has been placed in charge of the *Supply*, and Robert Cherry of the *Endeavour*; while [Thomas] Rickman, chief mate of the latter vessel, has been made master of the *Francis*. 'Thomas Codrington having advized us the passed year that he at Spahan had engaged himself in matrimony unto one of those Christian woemen

and was father unto two or three children, we commanded his repair hither to clear his accompt; which he having accordingly observed, and it being now done, we have untill your farther order dismist him your service; but must prefer unto you his humble sute, not only that the ballance of his accompt may be made good unto such of his friends as he shall authorize to receive it in England, but that he may, upon such tearmes as you think fitting, be readmitted into your service; wherin if you please to favour him, we conceive, by reason of his language and acquaintance with the busines, he wilbe a fit man to negotiate the custom house affaires at Gomroon.' John Lewis recently proceeded thither to take charge of the accounts and to be second to Robert Heynes; they recommend him for an increase of salary. 'Your President will, before return of your answer hereunto, have served you full fourteen years in this place, nine years Accomptant and five years in the employment he now is, upon low conditions; but being conscious of his own debillities to deserve what you have been pleased to allot him, and knowing that, if he have merited better, your liberall hand will not be shortned towards him more then others who have largely participated of your bounty, he makes that no theam of his ensuing request: that you wilbe pleased (if God graunt him life) to license his return unto you upon such shipping as you shall designe from hence to England in anno 1648; wherin he humbly implores your favour, induced therunto by long absence from his native country, his almost continued indisposition to health, but chiefly out of an earnest desire he hath to tender you his service at nearer distance.' Similarly Merry, who has been for over three years in charge of the accounts and finds his eyesight failing, begs that he may be relieved of this duty on the arrival of the next fleet for England; after that, he desires to be allowed a year 'to revise and transcribe what is necessary', and then to accompany Breton to England. It is thought that Edward Pearce would be a suitable successor to Merry. Their minister, Mr. Andrew Baines, also humbly requests leave to return home with Breton. It will be necessary, therefore, to send out another, 'who, as well by example of life as doctrine, may teach others; and that he should be of good abillities is necessary, in regard many Portugez Jesuits, friers, &c., frequently pass this way, between whom arguments often arise, which, for the reputation of our profession, we wish may in the

future (as formerly) be ably manteined. Mr. George Oxenden is also earnestly required home by his parents, unto whom, if not the next, two years hence he hopes to return.' Richard Fitch, Robert Cranmer, and Philip Wylde desire to go to England by the next shipping; while George Tash inclines to follow their example, unless his wages be increased. It will be necessary, therefore, to send out an ample supply of factors. The coral beads so long on hand, and invoiced as costing in England 41,058 mahmūdīs, were rated so low in the customhouse here ('where usually all sorts of goods are overrated 20 per cent.') that they have had them valued, with the result that they were pronounced to be worth just over 21,652 mahmūdīs. Either there is an error in the invoice, or else the Company has been much abused in the purchase. Defects in the coral received last year. Forward the accounts of various men deceased or going home. Cannot send the General Purser's books, as they are not ready owing to the dangerous illness of Richard Fitch. Courteen 'hath not given any intimation unto his servants that the Parliament have inhibited him the sending out any more ships, nor hath enordered their return; so that we fear they will yet continue, to the further dishonour of our nation.' His ship *Sun* arrived here from Persia on October 23, but, after landing a little freight, passed on to Rājāpur, whence, it is said, she will this year proceed to England or Leghorn, with the Agent [Farren] on board. She is not likely to spoil the Company's markets, for she will probably carry little but private goods. The *James*, commanded by Jeremy Weddell, lost her voyage for Persia last year, and was forced to put into Aden, whence she proceeded to Mokha. At that place, being in extreme need, Weddell and Page prevailed upon the Company's factors to lend them 500 rials of eight, 'to prevent a greater evill' [*see* p. 44]. The bills given by them were sent to Rājāpur for payment; but, as neither Farren nor Weddell was there, they were brought back and are now sent to England for recovery of the debt. The *James* left Mokha at the same time as the *Lanneret* and the *Francis*, and proceeded to Goa, where it is intended to sell her. The *Ruth* reached Rājāpur on September 8, bringing (it is reported) about 6,000*l.* worth of lead, coral, broadcloth, &c. These goods were sent up to Rāybāg for sale and investment; but her commander, Thompson, is now afraid that they will be seized 'to satisfy Mr. Courteens engage-

ments there, said to be 12,000 pago[das]'. His intentions were to make a voyage to Persia with freight goods and rice, and on his return to proceed to England. Enclose letters from Smart to Courteen, narrating the abandonment of the plantation in Madagascar. Thompson carried some of the unfortunate settlers from Johanna to Rājāpur, 'where Mr. Proud, in his voiage from England, finding them in great necessity, gave passage to two married couple, three widdowes, and a young man upon the *Dolphin*. Others were gone to Goa to seek succour amongst the Portugals. But those that came hither being by the charity of your servants plentifully relieved, that they might be no further trouble or charge unto you, two of the married people and two widdowes were returned upon the *Dolphin* for Rajapore, where Mr. Proud, they being provided of means to furnish their own provisions, procured them passage home upon the *Sun*. But Mr. Barratt and his wife appearing to be people of better quallity then the ordinary sort, and exceedingly unwilling to return, she being unfit to undertake so great a voiage and having formerly miscarried, prevailed with us to continue in these parts untill the next year, when they shalbe returned for England. The other, a carpenters widdow, Mistress Dabs, we have (at his earnest sute) licensed your carpenter, Bartholomew Asten [Austin *in copy*], to marry, therby to induce him to a longer continuance here in your service, he being exceeding usefull unto us in repair of your small shipping. And so Mr. Barratt and Bartholomew Asten and their wives now cohabit togither. The other young man, [Edmund] Redding, we have enterteined into your service at very small wages.' A small caravel from Portugal reached Goa on August 13; while on October 4 arrived the galleon *San Lorenzo* and the carrack *Atlas*. 'Report speaks them to have brought great store of men, quantity of provisions, and coral of all sorts sufficient to supply those parts, the effects wherof we found at Rajapore and Rawbag.' It is intended to dispatch a galleon to Portugal towards the end of the present month, and another some time in March. Two Dutch ships, the *Nassau* and the *Leeuwerik*, reached Swally from Batavia on November 3; and the *Juffrouw*, which came in their company, bound for Gombroon, has since arrived here. They were laden chiefly with spices and sappanwood. The *Nassau* brought a letter from Thomas Gee, commander of the *William*, dated August 22, announcing his

arrival in the Straits of Sunda. The *Bergenopzoom*, from Siam and Malacca, anchored at Swally on January 22; and two more ships are expected from Batavia. Enclose four specimens of the false pagodas coined by Courteen's mintmaster. An anchor and part of a cable belonging to the *John*, recovered at Johanna, have been sent to Goa for sale. Satisfaction to be made for beef and bread supplied to Knipe and his companions by Courteen's people. Recommend Anthony Clitherow and Henry Young (formerly purser's mate on the *Eagle*) for increase of wages. Praise John Proud, commander of the *Dolphin*, for his diligence and industry, and trust he will be again employed. They cannot, however, vindicate him from the charge of permitting some broadcloth to be brought out in his ship for private trade ('though not by himself'); and, to guard against any repetition of this offence, they have taken a bill from him and the purser, not to suffer, on pain of forfeiting their wages, any indigo or calico on board to be delivered to other than the Company. The *Lanneret* and *Expedition* left Gombroon December 28 and arrived here the fourteenth current, 'having compleated their voyage in 43 daies, the shortest that we have known made by any ships.' The *Falcon* had not reached Gombroon by the time they departed. 'The Dutch Comandore, by their ship *Burgenupsom*, which touched at Ceiloan, hath received newes that they are there at warres with the King of Candy and have this year lost upwards of 700 men, wherof the one half have left their service and are fled to the said King. Yet, notwithstanding their said differences, the Comandore pretends they have acquired upwards of 700 bales [of] cinamon.' John Adler, purser's mate of the *Dolphin*, has been taken ashore, 'to supply our want of assistance.' Owing to the continued sickness of Fitch, they find themselves unable to send the 'dead mens accompts' promised earlier in this letter. Among them is the account of Walter Clark, whose widow may, however, be paid 600 rials of eight in satisfaction of a like sum received into cash here. Enclose an account of the quick stock, showing a balance of 42,531 mahmūdīs on the wrong side. Urge that steps be taken to extinguish the debt, 'which you will find to be very immence, even to the devouring of all, and more then all, our paines and industry can contrive to gain in these parts.' Forward a box of writings which the Dutch factors desire to have delivered to their Company's

Agent in London. Just as they were closing this letter, the long-expected *Antelope* arrived. She and the *Greyhound* lost company in foul weather on July 16, and did not meet again. The *Antelope* passed Cape Agulhas on August 7, and reached St. Augustine's Bay on September 6, finding there 'the ruines of the ruin'd planters, who have so spoild the place that they procured very little refreshing.' She sailed again on September 18, and on October 17 anchored at Mayotta, where a plentiful supply of provisions was obtained. Departing on November 10, she made Dofar on 'the 20th' [December], and Diu Head on January 17, anchoring in Swally Hole a week later. Hope that the *Greyhound* will shortly make her appearance. Intend to dispatch the *Antelope* to Persia and the *Greyhound* to Basra, should she arrive in time. No freight can be got for Mokha, 'by reason here are so many of this Kings ships which usually voiage thither'; but they may direct the *Antelope* to proceed thither from Gombroon, 'it being a much wholesomer place then Bombay, whither she must els retire to pass the rains'.[1] (42¾ *pp. Received July* 23, 1647.)

LIST OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS UNDER THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF SURAT, JANUARY, 1647 (*O.C.* 2024).

In Surat: Francis Breton, President; Thomas Merry and Richard Fitch, members of Council; Andrew Baines, minister; Edward Pearce, Thomas Breton, Anthony Clitherow, Thomas Cook, John Anthony (chirurgeon), Thomas Andrews, John Goodyear, John Parmiter, Henry Young, Walter Gollofer, Edward Lock (chirurgeon's mate), John Chambers, William Noke, George Pepys[2], Robert Mildmay, John Wilson (cook), Herman Hill (trumpeter). *At the 'Marine'*: Thomas Methwold, John Adler. *In Agra*: Edward Knipe, Francis Hammersley, Richard Davidge, William Jesson, Thomas [*should be* John] Burnell, Joshua Blackwell, John Swinnerton. *In Ahmadābād*: George Tash, Hugh Fenn, Anthony Smith, Isaiah Joyce, William Bell (a youth). *In 'Scinda'*: John Spiller, Henry Garry, Nicholas Scrivener, Gilbert Harrison. *In*

[1] For a list of the packet sent by the *Dolphin* see *O.C.* 2025. A copy is among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] Described later as Mr. Merry's servant. He was a distant relative of the Diarist (see Wheatley's *Pepysiana*, p. 10), and appears to have died at Surat in 1649 or 1650.

Persia: Robert Heynes, John Lewis, Samuel Wilton, Thomas Best. *In Mokha*: George Oxenden, Joseph Cross, Nicholas Buckeridge, Charles Millard, John Broadbent, Lawrence Cheny. *In Achin*: Philip Wylde, Thomas Reynardson, Francis Scattergood, John Rose. *In Basra*: Robert Cranmer, Revett Walwyn, Thomas Cogan, William Weale. '*At Suratt Bunder*[1]': Bartholomew Austin (carpenter), Thomas Latimer and John Smallridge (smiths), William Jennings (tailor), William Lovett. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Received by the* Dolphin *in July*, 1647.)

THOMAS PROUD[2] AND SAMUEL BROWN, ABOARD THE *ANTELOPE* [AT SWALLY], TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 26, 1647 (*O.C.* 2026).

Narrate their voyage from England.[3] After passing the Cape they decided to save time by going outside Madagascar and refreshing at Mauritius; but their intention was frustrated by contrary winds and, having many of the crew down with scurvy, they were forced to put into St. Augustine's Bay. Found some difficulty in procuring cattle, 'not haveing the current trade, which is an Indian bead called vaca'; but they managed to get a few in exchange for brass wire and 'arangoes[4]'. Sailing on September 20 [*sic*] they on October 8 made the African coast to the northward of Mozambique. Currents and want of wind hindered their progress, with the result that, on sighting Mayotta, they deemed it prudent to put in there. After refitting their ship, they sailed on November 10, sighted the Arabian coast on December 20, and arrived here January 24. Complain of the beer supplied to the ships, twenty of the butts having had to be thrown overboard. The salt beef was of poor quality and cut into too small pieces. That sent for a trial, 'being pickled with a smaller [i.e. weaker] sort of pickle', was found to keep quite as well as the rest. (*Copy.* $2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

[1] Probably the yard on the river bank below Surat, where the Company's small vessels were repaired.

[2] Master of the *Antelope*. He appears to have been the son of John Proud, who was in command of the *Dolphin*.

[3] For consultations held on board, rom June to October, see *Marine Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iv. no. 20. There also may be found copies of two letters left at St. Augustine's Bay, and one left at Mayotta.

[4] See a note on p. 182 of the 1642–45 volume.

Philip Wylde and Francis Scattergood at Achin to the President and Council at Surat, January 28, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 112).

Wrote last by the *Seahorse* on October 30, but cannot prepare a transcript before the *Friendship* sails. The markets here are very dull. Great quantities of pepper and tin are expected this year, and they will endeavour to buy some as soon as they have sold their cloth. (*Copy. Original received March* 31.)

Thomas Winter and Richard Hudson at Masulipatam to the President and Council at Surat, January 29, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 90).

Forward some letters received from Madraspatam for transmission to Surat. Wonder that the Agent should complain of their remissness in relieving that place, as this is quite untrue. 'Sure the feare of warr and fammine hath amazed him, that he knows not what he writs.' They have already 'largly releived him', and yesterday the *Seaflower*, having finished trimming, was dispatched to him with the merchandise and provisions noted in the enclosed invoice. Henry Olton and John Brown have gone in her, to take passage for Bantam. Last year a junk called the '*Derry Dowlett*[1]' sailed from this place for Mokha, piloted by one John Gayton. She arrived there in safety and left again last August; but nothing has been heard of her since, and it is feared that some pirate may have taken her. Would be glad of any intelligence on the subject. The Mīr Jumla has dispatched two junks from this place to Gombroon and Mokha respectively. On the former are certain goods belonging to him, and the enclosed copies of letters of advice to the chief factor will show what he desires. 'We doe earnestly intreat you to grant his request; otherwise he will not suffer us any quietness in this place.' The junk for Mokha is piloted by Richard Walwyn, who has behaved very civilly while here. Mīr Jumla is about to send another junk to Pegu, laden with his own and freight goods. On the 16th present Courteen's *Rebecca*, with Thomas Clark as cape merchant, arrived here from Bengal. She was fully freighted with Moors' goods, part for this place and part for Persia. Clark hoped

[1] Possibly *Daryā-daulat*, 'the river of wealth'.

to procure further freight here; but on the factors warning the Governor that the vessel was none of the Company's and that they could not be in any way responsible for goods put into her, he discouraged the merchants from embarking anything. Fearing, however, that she might surprise some of Mīr Jumla's vessels at sea, he spoke Clark fairly, lent him a hundred pagodas for expenses, and promised to provide a house for a factory on his return next May or June. Hardly believe the vessel will come back, for 'Clarke hath not forgott his lyinge straine', and her crew are deserting so fast at every opportunity that she has but eighteen on board. *PS.*—Forbear to send a transcript of their letter of October 14 last, as they understand that the original has reached Surat. *PPS.*—The *Falcon's* ledger goes herewith. (*Copy. Original received March* 12.)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, February 2, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 48).

Advise having drawn bills on Surat 'to supply our severall factories'. Are much troubled by 'the diers dishonnest dealing with us; who, in this tyme of multiplycity of bussiness, send in our goods cured in such evill manner as that wee cannot receive them without assurance of after complaints against us; and when wee returne them to bee perfected, wee send them to lye by the walles, since with others (they say) such ill dyed goods will finde acceptance, and such men must then bee first served.' Cannot promise, therefore, to have the goods ready before the 20th, though they are doing their best to hasten them. Provision of saltpetre at 'Malpore'. The 'cannekeens' and 'ardeas' provided in 'Sunganier[1]' have been examined, and the factors find 'there curing, both in the dyinge and beating, farr to exceed any that is performed in this place; there price being alsoe more reasonable.' Request early instructions regarding the piece-goods wanted for Bantam. Owing to the recent drought, the water in the river is low, and the longer the work is deferred the more expensive it will prove. 'Our store of Sunganier mercoles will be sufficient to supply a large quantity of tappichindaes and chints broad.' Are anxious to receive a fitting present

[1] Sanganer, seven miles south of Jaipur. The town was famous for its dyed and stamped chintzes.

for the Governor, as without it they cannot visit him or thank him for the favours granted to them. Express their gratitude for the wine sent up. Money received from Mīr Mūsā by Tash on behalf of Alī Akbar. Nothing having been heard of the 'cossetts' [*qāsid*, a letter-carrier] from Agra, it is feared that they have miscarried. Have drawn further bills on Surat, and would be glad to be furnished with money up to 80,000 rupees. (*Copy. Original received February* 8.)

Philip Wylde and Francis Scattergood at Achin to the President and Council at Surat, February 3, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 111).

[*First part missing.*] Request the early supply of three house servants, 'honest, if possible.' Proposed purchase of camphor. Courteen's *Friendship* brought some Portuguese goods from Malacca, and is now bound for Goa and thence to Rājāpur.[1] Captain John [Smart] is very sick and is not likely to recover. [Scattergood?] desires an increase of salary. *PS.*—'Captain John Smart at sealing heerof departed this life, and William C[o]ck, a young youth, succeeds him in place.' (*Copy. Original received March* 31.)

Robert Heynes and Thomas Best at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, February 5, 1647[2] (*O.C.* 2027).

Wrote last by the Dutch *Delftshaven*, which sailed on January 25. Enclose a list of sales at Ispahān. The Sind goods are not in much demand in that place, and any future consignments will be disposed of here. Of the 'Matchawarra baftaes', the finer qualities yield considerable profit, but the poor sorts are unvendible. The same applies to 'hummumees and sallooes'. The 'cocheaw cloth[3]' is much sought after, and they would be glad of a large supply of the best quality. Enumerate the cotton goods sold here,[4]

[1] Smart had sent the *Friendship* from Achin to Malacca on October 8, 1646, to sell some wine she had procured at Madeira on her way out; but she returned in January without having sold her cargo (*Brit. Mus. Addl. MS.* 14,037, ff. 40, 42, 47).

[2] This letter was carried to Surat by the Dutch *Leeuwerik*. There is another copy in *Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii. (p. 65).

[3] The 'catchaes' of p. 13; see also p. 106 *infra*, and the previous volume, p. 252.

[4] Including some 'dustmalls [*dastmāl*] or romall [*rūmāl*] dusters [*dastār*]'. All three words mean a napkin or towel.

and the prices realized. The profit made may appear small, because they have rated the pagoda at 32 shāhīs (in accordance with Wylde's books), whereas it is only worth two rials of eight, which are reckoned at 14 shāhīs apiece. Having so much pepper on hand, and more expected, they have sold some at 16½ lārīs per Surat maund of 33 lb.—'a most despicable price'. Are now seeking freight for the *Falcon*, and hope to dispatch her to Surat by the 10th instant. 'The Dutch shipp *Lewark*, which set saile from Swally Hole the night after ours, arrived here the first currant with Sr. Vanbourrough and Sr. Bastian,[1] whoe are nowe prepareing for their journey to court; but if it bee true (as it is reported) that the King goes after Xoorooze[2] in person against the Indian, whoe hath prowdly challenged him the feild, hee may runn the wildgoose chase before he overtakes him.' Neither of the expected English ships has yet appeared. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

George Tash at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, February 7, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 52).

Did not receive the Surat letters till three days ago. Among them he found one requiring the instant dispatch of the goods for Mokha. Encloses details of those which he hopes to forward shortly. (*Copy.*)

John Spiller, Henry Garry, Nicholas Scrivener, and Gilbert Harrison [at Tatta] to the President and Council at Surat, [February 11[3], 1647] (*Ibid.*, p. 75).

Are still detained here by the scarcity of new rupees. 'Heere is but one day in a weeke that rupees are stampt', and most of them fall into the hands of the Dīwān. They tried to get a supply of last year's rupees instead, but found that these also were very scarce. However, the Kandiāro investment is not being much

[1] The two ambassadors were Nicolaas Verburgh or Vanderburgh and Willem Bastinck (who has been already mentioned at p. 271 of the previous volume). See the introduction (p. xvii) to Hotz's *Journaal der Reis van . . . . Joan Cunaeus.*

[2] A copyist's error for 'Noorooze', i.e. *Naurōz*, the festival of the vernal equinox.

[3] This date is given in a later letter (April 17).

delayed, for they have managed to remit 1,000 rupees by exchange to the broker there, and this will find him employment until they arrive. The Shāhbandar is urging the merchants to ship their goods, especially to Mokha, but hitherto with scant success. 'Bumbah' [Bāmbā], the chief trader in that direction, died about three months ago, and his estate was thereupon seized; and most of the others are disinclined to send any goods. The Shāhbandar has informed the Dīwān and Bakhshī 'that he will not meddle now with Bunder, unless each of them send a man to sitt in custome house with one that he shall apointe for his part. Soe heere merchants have very ill quarter.' Dealings with the Shāhbandar about their broadcloth. He is about to return to Lārībandar. Supply of funds to Kandiāro and Nasarpur. (*Copy.*)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, February 12, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 61).

Complain of the tardy delivery of the letters and bills of exchange from Surat, and opine that the shroffs may have bribed the messenger. 'The slacknes of our Byram [1] men in bringing in their cloth' made it doubtful whether the desired quantity could be procured; but, by giving them some small encouragement, 100 corge have been obtained and are now ready to accompany the goods intended for Basra. No 'mercooles' or 'eckbarrees' are at present available. Have already advised as to saltpetre. The 'Sunganeer' goods will be sent down with the rest, except the baftas, which are so poor that they will be returned to the buyer. Complain that they have not been furnished with a horse, or permitted to buy one here. Rejoice at the arrival of the *Antelope*. Have received the bills of exchange for 50,000 rupees, and trust they will be duly met; 'whereof the dayly failing of the sheroffs and merchants here putts us into some jealousye.' Deny the charges of harsh dealing made against them by the shroffs, and express surprise that these should be listened to at Surat. Have duly forwarded the letters, &c., addressed to Agra. Will provide 'sahabees [2]' for Achin; also the 'atlas [3]' desired, but cannot

[1] *Bairam* or *bairamī* was the name of a very fine cotton stuff.

[2] Pers. *sāhibī*, a kind of silk cloth.

[3] Satin (Ar. *atlas*).

get any of the required dimensions. Of 'Finckun [1]' there are four or five hundred maunds in town; the ordinary sort costs seven or eight rupees per maund and the better, called Chowkee [*chokhā*, good, or fine], ten or eleven. On receipt of the remittances from Surat, they called in some bills already given; would be glad of 20,000 or 30,000 rupees more. Send on 'musters' received from Agra. Goods for Mokha and Suakin were dispatched in a caravan on the 8th. Payments to be made to the conductor, &c. The Basra investment goes on slowly, 'and our dyers continue to abuse us in couleringe our goods most intollerably and beyond all sufferance.' Mīrzā Alī Akbar should be reminded to send up his bill of debt to be cleared here. *PS.*—Having an opportunity of furnishing the Tatta factory with 5,000 rupees, they are taking bills at two per cent. profit, less half a rupee [per 100?] for insurance. In order to pay two bills, amounting to 12,000 rupees, on account of the Agra merchants, they have drawn on Surat for that sum at 1½ per cent. loss. Forward copies of their last year's accounts. (*Copy. Original received February* 18.)

John Lewis at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, February 12, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 83).

Account of his voyage from Swally. The *Francis*, under Rickman, parted company for Basra on January 13. Gombroon was reached on February 6. In the road they found a small junk and a Dutch ship. The other Hollander, which left Swally a day after they did and had 'the new commandore' on board, was met with off Ormus. The *Seahorse*, which had lost company on January 28, arrived on February 9. (*Copy. Original received March* 12.)

Robert Heynes, John Lewis, and Thomas Best at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, February 13, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 78).

Now reply to the letters received by the *Endeavour* and *Seahorse*. As the advices sent by way of Sind were so long detained, they will abstain from using that route in future. The goods that were forwarded to Ispahān were thus disposed of in the hope they would find better markets there; but the event has proved otherwise, 'by reason

[1] Not identified. Probably the copyist's perversion of the original.

of the finall discourse[1] of merchants cominge to that place, occasioned through the warrs twixt this King and the Turke, which caused the way of Bagdatt to bee stopt.' Have already advised what has been sold since the departure of Pitt. Will do their best to obtain for the Company its rightful share of the customs; but if the Shāhbandar goes on as he has begun, they are not likely to receive even as much as last year, 'for a more notorious theife lives not'. Since they are ordered to be content with what they can get by fair means, they will obey; but 'when the Company are forced to seeke theire due, these base people will finde that forbearance will be noe acquitance'. Will not contradict the statement that the Dutch have obtained a farmān for silk, 'since you have beene informed that they have one'. Will remember to procure gammons of bacon, neats' tongues, &c., against next year; such things are not to be had here, but they will endeavour to obtain them 'at our repaire to Spahaun'. Have not finished unlading the two pinnaces, and so cannot certify the correctness of their invoices; but they learn that only half the number of pepper bags can be found, and this will much delay the work. Hear nothing of any tin sent hither by the Dutch. Have sold most of their own at 50 lārīs the maund of 33 lb., and expect to dispose of the rest 'suddainely'. Lewis has safely arrived, and will take over the accounts from Heynes. Particulars of the *Falcon's* cargo from this place. Pearls (?) sent for delivery to 'Chout[2]', who is to pay for them at the rate of 30 rupees per tūmān, 'the price current in this place at present'. Trumball has also received a small bag of 'chickeens' [sequins] for the Company's account. The Dutch chief has kindly furnished the *Falcon* with the provisions mentioned in the enclosed note; request that recompense may be duly made to the Dutch 'comodore' at Surat. Money advanced to the ship's purser. Courteen's ship, the *Ruth*, came in on the same day as the *Seahorse*. Thompson, her commander, is very sick. Her lading is chiefly pepper, cotton wool, gumlac, and rice. The present price of pepper is only 15 lārīs per maund; and, if no more be offered, the *Ruth* will probably carry hers to England. The two pinnaces will be unladen and returned

[1] This seems to be used here in the sense of 'disrecourse', and may indeed be a copyist's error for that word.

[2] Apparently identical with 'Chout Tocker' [Chhotā Thākur?], described later as the Company's chief broker at Surat.

to Surat as speedily as possible. *PS.*—Could not send any horses, because, on mentioning the matter to the Sultān, he declared that he had received orders from the King not to permit the shipment of any. They produced the royal farmān, allowing them to export twelve horses yearly, but this had no effect. However, they intend to petition the Itimād-uddaula on the subject, and doubt not to be able to send some shortly. Have invoiced back again the gunpowder that came from Masulipatam. Passage granted to an Italian padre. Money forwarded for delivery to Vīrjī Vōra. (*Copy. Original received March* 11.)

ROBERT HEYNES, ABOARD THE *FALCON* AT GOMBROON, TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, FEBRUARY 13, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 83).

Advises that a bag of money has been brought on board at the last moment. It is to be delivered to a merchant in Surat, and the freight has been paid here. (*Copy. Original received March* 11.)

PRESIDENT BRETON AND THOMAS MERRY AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, FEBRUARY 26, 1647 (*O. C.* 2028).[1]

Wrote last by the *Dolphin*, which sailed on January 26. Their coral remains unsold, owing chiefly to the large proportion of the coarser kind. Most of the lead has been landed, as the Governor has promised to take it at last year's rate. He also wishes to buy their broadcloth for the King, but nothing is yet settled. Are busy preparing cargoes for the next shipping. Knipe writes from Agra that he has already bought upwards of 400 bales of excellent indigo and hope to make the number up to 500. At Ahmadābād that commodity continues dear, and purchases will consequently be deferred. On February 12 arrived the Dutch *Delftshaven* from Gombroon, bringing 500 tūmāns from the English factors, and letters from Andrew Trumball, announcing that the *Falcon* had reached that port on January 21. Refer to his account of the sufferings of the crew for want of water [*see* p. 75]. Such difficulties are always to be expected, as the 'small tradeing shipps' are poorly

[1] Received in London from Courteen's ship, the *Sun*, on January 14, 1648, together with other papers listed in *O.C.* 2030 A copy of this letter, apparently sent overland and received December 6, 1647, forms *O.C.* 2029.

supplied with casks. Request a supply of pewter box compasses, lanterns, and half-hour and half-minute glasses. Sales in Persia. The Dutch *Leeuwerik* on February 20 brought a further letter from Gombroon, announcing that the *Falcon* was to sail five days after her. Intend to have the stock of pepper brought back hither, as it can only be sold at a loss in Persia. Have been unable until now to obtain freight for the *Antelope* for Gombroon, owing to Dutch competition; but have at last procured a sufficient quantity, though at low rates, and she will sail to-morrow. From Gombroon she will go to Madraspatam, carrying 15,000 rials of eight, part of the 25,000 ordered to be invested there and the proceeds sent hither by next November. Owing to the delay in the arrival of the *Falcon* (now hourly expected), the idea of sending her to Suakin has been abandoned and she will only go to Mokha, proceeding thence in July to Tuticorin. She will there seek a supply of 'cattches . . . a sort of cloth vendable in Persia to very good advance'; and will then 'rainge the coast and try if pepper may bee procured att Coylon or Pourcatt and cynamon at Cocheen and those adjacent places.' For these purposes she will be supplied with 15,000 rials of eight at Mokha. The *Lanneret* is to be sent to Suakin, and is now at Goghā to fetch that part of her lading which has been bought at Cambay, as this course will save six or seven per cent. compared with the expense of bringing the goods by land. Hope to dispatch her on her voyage in four or five days. In her place, the *Endeavour* (now expected from Gombroon) will be sent to the Coast and Pegu, carrying to the former place a supply of wheat and rice. The *Seahorse* is destined for Basra and the *Francis* for Bantam. The *Supply* is now voyaging to Rājāpur, to fetch a quantity of goods bought at Rāybāg; on her return she will be sent to Achin and Johore. 'Upon the 22th current here arived the Duch shipp *Snuke* from Tywan, which is said to have brought sugar, copper, tuttanagle, and brimstone, but noe plate [i.e. silver]. Their trade there and in Japon (as wee collect from the Commandore) is much declined; the former by reason of warrs in Chyna which, begining first amongst themselves, gave oppertunity unto the Tarters to enter, who (as the Dutch affirme) have wholy conquered that rich and spacious contry, some porte townes excepted. The Dutch themselves also acknowledge that their Manella fleete, consisting of seven sayle, hath been disgracefully

beaten by two Spanish gallions, which were set out of Maneilles purposely to encounter them; wherof they sunk one, burnt another, enforced the rest to fly for safetie. This wee heere from their Commandore; but other of there people relate that there were eleven shipps, and that more of them were burnt.' However, the Dutch are in no want of shipping, to judge by the number in these parts. Yesterday their flute *Juffrouw* set sail for Mokha, and with her the *Delftshaven* for Gombroon with freight goods, not above one-third laden. The *Haan* is also bound thither, but is not likely to be more than half full; and the *Snoek* will follow with sugar brought from Taiwan and some freight goods, if procurable. The *Leeuwerik* is to go to Mokha. The *Bergenopzoom* remains here empty, while the *Nassau* is expected from Persia. 'The distracted story of the Courtinians you will receive from themselves, the *Sun* being bound home, by which wee hope these will bee safely conveighed unto you (though not entrusted unto any of them). Agent Farren and his Councell lately profferred us their fort att Carware; but, in regard it would have been a certaine charge unto you and happily might not have proved proporcionably advantagious, wee thought not fitting to accept therof; nor indeed could, without unmaning some of your shipps to keepe itt, which wee are confident would have been noe whitt pleasing unto you. Their shipp *James* they have sould att Goa, with guns &c. appertainances, for 7,000 zeraphins, and reparted the money amongst them; of whose men wee have entertained four, vizt. Robert Woodruf, cheif carpenter, at 28*s.* per moneth, John Wood, boatswaine, att 25*s.* per moneth, and Phillip Hall and John Hatfeild, two able seamen, at 18*s.* The *Ruth* is gon for Persia, and will, wee hope, att her returne follow the *Sun* for England.' The Portuguese are sending three ships to Europe this month. Enclose a letter received from Maximilian Bowman at Colombo, 'where, itt seemes, hee is resolved to reside and (as wee heere) is suddainly to bee married, notwithstanding hee hath a wyfe and childe in England. Wee have earnestly sollicited the Vicroy to returne him unto us; but whether hee will or can grattifie us therein, the Inquisition haveing taken him into there protection, wee are doubtfull.' Regret the loss of an able and diligent servant in Thomas Methwold, who died on February 11. *PS.*—They are sending 10,000 rials to the Coast in the *Endeavour*, to be invested for Persia. (7 *pp.*)

Thomas Cogan and William Weale at Basra to the President and Council at Surat, February 27, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 103).

In reply to the letter brought by the *Francis*, which arrived on the 16th, they express their regret for omitting to write by the *Endeavour*. Will do their best to dispose of the goods, but at present they cannot find any customers. The pepper has been landed and agrees with the invoice. The messenger expected from Aleppo fell sick on the road, and they fear he is dead. Will inquire for any letters brought by him. Particulars of freight. (*Copy. Original received March* 26.)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, February 28, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 72).

Finding it absolutely necessary to attend the Governor's darbār, they, with the assistance of Mīr Mūsā, made up a present of red and green broadcloth, a mirror, and a set of barber's instruments, and offered it for his acceptance. It was graciously received, and the Governor assured the factors of his goodwill towards them. Since then Tash has had several interviews with him, and has succeeded in clearing away all obstructions to their saltpetre business. Further, the Governor has not only granted a parwāna freeing the English from all way duties, but has authorized them to send out 'a man of quallity' to recover all such dues as have already been paid. Acquainted the Governor also of the 135 rupees 'soe unjustly extracted from us at our first saltpeeters dismission'; but this, they found, had 'fallen into his owne purse, and therefore the motion for restitucion was not soe well relished by him, who gave noe other reply thereto then that hee would enquire into the certainty thereof.' Accordingly, they were dismissed with 'the gift of two pammerins[1] unto George Tash'. Present made also to the Bakhshī for his assistance. Request some broadcloth to repay Mīr Mūsā, with some 'overplus' as an acknowledgement of his many favours. Yesterday sent off another caravan. Payments to be made to the carters and guards. Have heard a rumour that

[1] Shawls (Mahr. *pāmarī*).

the Agra factors have sent a man to 'Malpore' to buy saltpetre; if this is true, they fear that competition will ensue, to the detriment of the Company. Prospects of the indigo crop. (*Copy. Original received March 6.*)

DAVID WHITE, ABOARD THE *LANNERET* IN GOGHĀ ROAD, TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, MARCH 1, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 71).

Arrived here February 23. Nothing has been heard of the 'caphila'; and, as the pilots say that, if it does not arrive by the 3rd, it cannot come until the next spring tide, he will after that date return to Swally. *PS.*—Denies the rumour that a boat has been sunk and a number of bales damaged. (*Copy.*)

GEORGE TASH, HUGH FENN, AND ANTHONY SMITH AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 2, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 77).

As already advised, 'Commera Beage [Kamar Beg], a munsudar [mansabdār] of this place', has been deputed to recover all way dues paid this year. Request that copies of the accounts (translated into Persian) may be sent to him at Broach, and that Abdul Karīm may be directed to attend him 'to certifye the sayd disburstments.' (*Copy. Original received March 6.*)

ROBERT HEYNES, JOHN LEWIS, AND THOMAS BEST AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 4, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 92).

Wrote last by the *Falcon*, which sailed on February 13. Were disappointed to receive no letters by the Dutch *Nassau*, which arrived on February 28. Quantities and prices of goods sold since the departure of the *Falcon*. The Madraspatam cloth is both poor and overpriced. The markets here are very bad and are likely to be worse, as a Dutch ship is daily expected from Masulipatam. There is no demand for the longcloth. The so-called 'guldars[1]' are found to be 'but nimguls[2], which are but halfe soe long as the guldars'; they are therefore more suitable

[1] See the 1634–36 volume, p. 219.

[2] Probably an abbreviation for *nīm* (half)-*guldār*.

for Basra, and will be sent thither. The 'cheleus[1]' are so bad that no offer can be got for them, except one which involved a loss, while the brown 'sallampores' are too coarse to tempt buyers. The 'Sindy' goods have fetched but mean prices, as they are not so good as last year's consignment and yet are high priced. The Sultān will not yet consent to the shipment of horses; but they have instructed Wilton to complain to the Itimād-uddaula on the subject, and meanwhile, if the *Francis* comes in, they will detain her passengers until leave is granted to put the horses aboard her. The Shāhbandar continues to defraud them in the matter of customs dues; only last night seven or eight boat-loads of goods from the Dutch ship were carried to 'the private custome house'. 'The *Ruth* which we adviced of in our last, and as we thought belonged to Mr. Curtine, we have since learned is noe such matter, but that Alderman Andrews[2] and Mr. Maurice Tompson are his cheife owners; who have obtained from the Esquire his pattent for licensing the shipp to come for India, allowing him three per cent. upon all goods shipt out, and his factors which are in India to asist them.' Have received no answer to their protest, but this is ascribed to the sickness of her captain, who has not stirred out of doors since he came ashore. Part of her rice has been sold, and the rest of her cargo has been trucked for dates. She is now preparing to depart for Rājāpur, and is taking passengers for that port, to the detriment of the Company. Intend to dispatch part of their pepper to Ispahān for sale, and also to send some of the sandalwood to Basra; the rest might be returned to Surat, as it will not sell here. Deficiencies in the cargoes of the two pinnaces. Account of the money and rūnās now put on board them. Cannot hope for much freight. Request to be supplied with a great beam, as the one they have is very defective; also with butter, oil, rice, and candles, prices here being very high. Desire confirmation of their action in raising the salary of their linguist from 6 to 12 tūmāns per annum. *P.S.*—Correct an

[1] On this cloth, which seems to be the same as the 'sallooes' of p. 79, see *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. 'Shalee'.

[2] Thomas Andrews, one of the leaders of the Parliamentarian party in the City. He was elected an Alderman in 1642, Sheriff the same year, and Lord Mayor in 1649 and 1650; and was knighted by Cromwell in November, 1657 (information from the Rev. A. B. Beaven). He became a Committee of the East India Company in 1643, Deputy-Governor in 1657, and Governor two years later, but died soon after taking office.

error in the last invoice. Money advanced to the pursers of the two vessels. Amount received for freight. Two bags of money to be delivered to Mīrzā Mahmūd and Vīrjī Vōra. (*Copy. Original received March* 19.)

ROBERT HEYNES, JOHN LEWIS, AND THOMAS BEST AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 9, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 101).

The *Francis* arrived from Basra yesterday, bringing intelligence that the markets there were very bad. The same may be said of this place. Pepper is in no demand at Ispahān; but Wilton has sold most of the other goods there and is about to send down the proceeds. If they cannot dispose of their stock here, they will be forced to forward it to Ispahān. Will detain the *Francis* till the limit of time allowed, and intend to keep all goods on board until permission is granted for the shipment of their horses. 'The Dutch are mighty strang since the news of ther new Generall.[1] Creditt us, we beleive they have some designe upon this place, which they will bring to effect by degrees, if the King condiscend not to there propositions; for the Comodore keepes the *Paw* in the road, pretending that for her oldness he dares not venture her [to] sea and, if she be not able to subsist this monzone, to runne her on shore.' *PS.*—Hearing that sandalwood commands a good price at Basra, they have decided to send some thither in a hired vessel. (*Copy. Original received March* 26.)

THOMAS [RICK]MAN, ON BOARD THE *FRANCIS* AT GOMBROON, TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, [MARCH 10?] 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 105).

Left Basra on March 2, and arrived here on the 8th. Would have proceeded to Surat in company with the Dutch *Nassau*, but the factors have resolved to detain his vessel. (*Copy. Original received March* 26.)

[1] Kornelis Vanderlyn had acted as Governor-General at Batavia since the death of Van Diemen in April, 1645, but the news of his confirmation in that post by the Dutch Company did not reach Batavia until October, 1646.

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, March 13, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 98).

Advise the dispatch on the 8th of the 'sahebies' and 'atlas' required for Achin. Heard lately from 'Malpore' that 'our people' had made an agreement for 1,500 great maunds of saltpetre at 22 rupees per maund, which is one-eighth dearer than last year, but this is due to the high cost of transport, owing to the lack of water and grass caused by the drought. In reply instructed them to double the quantity. Await instructions regarding the investment for Bantam. Suggest that they be authorized to provide 150 or 200 corge of baftas while they are cheap. *PS.*—Details of the cost of the 'sahebies' and 'atlas'. (*Copy. Original received March* 19.)

Revett Walwyn at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, March 20, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 100).

Cannot induce the dyers and beaters to promise more than 20 corge of cloth each day, but will endeavour to raise this to 24 or 25 corge. Requests instructions as to the marks to be put on the bales. (*Copy. Original received March* 22.)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and [Anthony] Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, [March 20?] 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 105).

Received their letters on the 16th, and note the instructions regarding the dyeinghouse. Refining of saltpetre. Goods required for Bantam. 'Rarieties' desired by the Governor. Regret that what they wrote about a horse is resented at Surat; they never intended to pay more than 250 rupees for one. Complain also that the shroffs' accusations against them should have been credited so readily. Have heard nothing yet as to the recovery of way dues. Have been vainly trying to reduce the rate of interest to ¾ per cent. [per month?]. Advise having drawn some bills of exchange. [Joyce?] renews his application for an increase of salary. (*Copy.*)

ROBERT HEYNES, JOHN LEWIS, AND THOMAS BEST AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 23, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 113).

Wrote last by the *Nassau* on the 19th [*sic*]. Little has occurred since. Have sold part of their pepper, but at a poor price, due largely to Dutch competition. The Sultān has at last granted them leave to ship off horses, and two (besides two mules) are now sent. The Shāhbandar continues his robberies in the matter of the customs. Forward money, as specified in the invoice. Passages granted to certain men. Are surprised that no ships have arrived from India. *PS.*—Copies of the last accounts are sent herewith. Money advanced to the purser of the *Francis*. (*Copy. Original received April* 5.)

PRESIDENT BRETON AND THOMAS MERRY AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, MARCH 31, 1647 (*O.C.* 2031).

Enclose a transcript of their previous letter by the *Sun*, which was to leave Rājāpur about the middle of this month. The *Falcon*, after another tedious passage, arrived here March 11, and eleven days later was dispatched to Mokha. She is so 'walt and ill condiciond' that she needs two feet depth of stones to ballast her; this much limits her carrying capacity and consequently she is not a profitable ship. Intend on her return to consult the commanders and carpenters as to remedying her defects. Her voyage from Mokha to Tuticorin has been countermanded, owing to the illness of the broker there employed; and in lieu thereof, Oxenden has been instructed to proceed in her to Porakād, Cochin, &c., to buy pepper and cinnamon. The voyage of the *Lanneret* to Suakin has been postponed to next year, owing to an accident; a boat bringing off the goods bought in Cambay was 'sunke by that boare[1]', and though the bales were recovered, 'that designe became therby frustraite.' She is now bound for Basra[2], as the *Seahorse* was thought at Gombroon to be too leaky for that voyage. However, upon the arrival here of that vessel (with the *Endeavour*) on the 19th current, her leak was found to be stopped, and so they

[1] The bore in the Mahī estuary has always been a great hindrance to navigation.

[2] An abstract of her cargo will be found in *Factory Records*, *Persia*, vol. i.

dispatched her, nine days later, to Mokha. Learning, by letters from the Coast, 'what a miserable condicion Madraspatam and that whole cuntry are declined unto through warr and famine, and how much your Agent &c. suffer', they have decided to send the *Francis* thither instead of to Bantam, hoping that 'shee will not only doe them very good servis in supplyeing them with provissions, but may happily awe the Portuges, their neighbors, unto better abearances; betwixt whome you will finde there have beene some late differences, which also the Viceroy hath signified unto us, with some complaints of our people, very earnestly desiring they may bee reconsiled; which wee doubt not facilly to effect, and indeede wee sumthing wonder how it comes to passe they should continue so to differ, wee in these partes maintaning as faire a corrispondency with the Vicroy and that whole nacion, and receave as much respect from them, as wee can expect or desire'. Letters from the Basra factors, brought to Gombroon by the *Francis* and thence by the Dutch *Nassau* (which arrived here five days ago), complain exceedingly of bad and dead markets; while similar complaints come from Gombroon and Achin. Unless prospects improve at the last-named place, and 'if Johore encourage us not', they will probably 'wholly desert those partes'. The chief cause of this decline of trade is the excessive export of Indian commodities, and the effect is seen in the scarcity and dearness of the latter, especially indigo. At Agra none can be obtained under 43 rupees the maund, while at Ahmadābād there has been no drop in the prices formerly advised. They are therefore investing chiefly in calicoes and saltpetre. The present Governor of Ahmadābād has given them permission to export the latter, and they also expect a good quantity from Agra. Their greatest want is now the *Greyhound*, which has not yet arrived. Cannot get rid of their coral. Several chests have been shipped in the *Falcon*, to be sold, if possible, on the Malabar Coast. The saltpetre detained at Rāybāg has now been released, on giving a bribe of 500 pagodas to Mustafa Khān, and its receipt is daily expected. They doubt whether it will be safe to make any further investment in those parts, because of the indebtedness of the 'Courtinians', amounting to 17,000 pagodas. Of this sum 5,400 pagodas are due to Mustafa Khān, whose servants are daily pressing Mr. Hicks, the

chief factor, for payment; he, having no means himself, has applied in turn to Agent Farren at Goa, but the latter 'professeth to bee in the like or worse condicion. So that it is to bee feared missery will in short time befall such of Mr. Courteenes servants as are engaged amongst the Moores, when enevitably an exterordinary dishonour to our nacion and prejudice to your trade must follow, if some course bee not taken to release them'. Know not what lading the *Sun* is carrying to England, but it is not likely to be much. The *Ruth* has been at Gombroon, where she trucked her rice and pepper for dates, and is now returning to Rājāpur. Captain Smart has died at Achin.[1] The *Endeavour* is about to start for the Coast of Coromandel and Pegu. 'The newse our last gave you touching the Tarters conquest of China is since come confirmed from Goa, a pynnace of Cocheene being returned from Machaw empty, that trade for the present being wholly lost, the Portugalls which the passed yeare went from Goa haveing found no vend for their goods they carried nor any merchandize procurable to returne.' *PS.* (*April* 1)—The *Supply* has just arrived from Rājāpur with the expected saltpetre, &c. When she left that port (March 20), the *Sun* was preparing to depart for England. What Thompson in the *Ruth* will do on his return from Persia they know not, the six or seven thousand pounds he left for investment at Rāybāg having been seized in satisfaction of Courteen's debts; but they fear that this may prompt him 'to take some indirect courses'. (5½ *pp. Received overland December* 6.)

President Aaron Baker, Henry Greenhill, and Matthew Nowell at Bantam to the President and Council at Surat, [March?] 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 165).

Now answer the Surat letter of last October, brought by a Dutch vessel. Regret Breton's ill health and trust that he will soon recover. Perceive that the Manilla trade 'is at a period for the present', and whether any further attempt will be possible is very uncertain. The Dutch at Batavia are preparing a fleet of twenty ships for dispatch thither, to be ready by the middle of the present month, and give out that they 'will never desist till they have made the place theire

[1] A marginal note gives the date as February 13, but this seems to be ten days too late (cf. p. 100).

owne'. Wish that the news received at Goa of a peace between the King and the Parliament had proved true; but the intelligence brought by the last ships is to a different effect. A letter received from Gilbert Grimes, master of the *Greyhound*, dated at the Mauritius on November 30, announces that he reached that island on September 28, his vessel, being slow of sail, having lost the monsoon for Surat. He does not say how long he is to remain there, but presumably he will not reach Surat until about the end of next September. Cannot understand why he did not go on either to Bantam or to the Coromandel Coast. The loss of his voyage is evidently due to the Company buying a rotten old vessel instead of building a new one, which would do them five times the service. Of the ships dispatched to Bantam, the *William* arrived on August 27, the *Endymion* two days later, and the *Ulysses* on September 8. Lists of their cargoes are enclosed. The first-named vessel has been sent out on account of the Joint Stock; the other two for the General Voyage, to fetch home the goods remaining here on that account. Cartwright's letters have led the Company to imagine that these goods will suffice to lade home both vessels, but in this they will be disappointed. Have managed, however, to find cargoes for the *William* and the *Ulysses*, which sailed accordingly on January (?) 6. The Surat packet for Manilla is returned herewith unopened; and Boyer, together with some petty things he brought with him, will be sent back in the next ship. Enclose three letters received from England for delivery to Courteen's factors. Again urge the dispatch of a ship from Surat to fetch such goods as are here available; otherwise they fear it will be impossible to forward any supply. *PS.*—Hearing of a Dutch ship bound for the Mauritius, they have written a brief letter to Grimes, a copy of which is enclosed. If he brings his ship to Bantam, as desired, they promise not to take out any cargo destined to Surat but to send her on at once, after putting their pepper aboard. (*Copy.*)

REVETT WALWYN AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, APRIL 15, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, pp. 117, 121).

Has this day sent off 64 bales of cloth. For the cost he refers to the enclosed invoice. Doubtless more is expected, but he has not

been able to induce the dyers and beaters to work any faster. Will do his best to send off a further quantity shortly. Requests instructions as to the dyeing, &c., of certain cloths. *PS.*—The workmen promise to finish all they have in hand within five days. (*Copy.*)

John Spiller and Nicholas Scrivener at Kandiāro to the Same, April 17, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii a, pp. 142, 130–8, 142).

Having got together some money, they left Tatta by water on February 2 [ ], and reached Nasarpur on March 3. On their way they received a letter from Ahmadābād, enclosing a bill for 15,000 rupees ; and this money was brought to them on March 8 by Henry Garry. On viewing the cloth at Nasarpur, they found it good, and cheaper than last year by 8 pice per piece. However, they were not contented with it, and at once 'caused the weavers to alter theire loomes and weave cloth one-sixth part better, for before the warp was of 600 threds and now have made it 700 ; the breadth the same as formerly, which is a Guzzeratt covet. Soe questionless this cloth will give content and be better liked off then ever yet any went thence. And hope shall procure good quantities, for the weavers (being noe buyers but us) very willingly and readily condescended to our desire'. On March 9 the factors set out again, and on the 24th they arrived at 'the Gate of Derbellah [1]', where their broker met them. He reported that cloth had been extraordinarily dear for some time, owing to purchases made by a Bukkur merchant, but prices had now fallen again. The factors continued in the town some time, but could get but little cloth—about two corge a day, at which rate 'our buzzare [2] continues'. 'The Multan prince, Moraad Buxe[3], being outed of Multan, his whole gover[nment] was given to Seyhed Ckawne [Said Khān], who sent three of [his so]nnes to Buker [4] to take care and charge of that place, having given them [it ?] with all the depending [tow]nes, which together are devided into three purgaines [i.e. parganas] for there maintan-

[1] As the factors came up by water, a *ghāt*, or landing-place, is probably intended. In that case the 'Tugghen' of p. 134 may have been the spot.

[2] Bāzār, or market.

[3] Murād Bakhsh, fourth son of the Emperor.

[4] Bukkur, a fortress on an island in the Indus, between Sukkur and Rohri.

ance by theire father; about the shareing of which theire was some time spent before they could agree. But that being ended, this place [i.e. Kandiāro], Derbellah, and Gumbutt[1] fell to the eldest sonne, Canahzaut Ckawne [Khānahzād Khān]; the only places of cloath or that we have any thinge to doe in. Yet that unreasonable dutie of Cheheleaheeck[2] was alloted the second sonne. Soe here tis hard to judge who is governour; for Seyed Ckawn, beinge by the Kinge (who againe is on his journey for Black [i.e. Balkh]) called unto him, sent for his eldest sonne to governe Multan in his absence; who in his place hath left soe many governours that hitherto we cannot learne each's authorrity. These came to receive in theire rents the same day we came to Derbellah, but durst not [go?] noe further then Khandearah, the arbaubs[3] and cheife men being all fledd, standing out as rebbells, and soe they saide they would continue, untill the governours aforesaid would condiscend to theire demands; which at last with much adoe were agreed on both sides; and then the governours left this place and went for Derbellah (to our soe much content as [the] weavers rejoycing), where the arbhaubs had promised to meete with them.' On their departure the factors sent their servants to all the neighbouring villages to hasten in the cloth, 'for from these places comes in the halfe of what wee buy'. The Kotwāl, discovering this, one day laid hold of some of those who had sold cloth to the English, demanding 'laggath[4]' on the money they had received and threatening to make them pay duties on the cloth they had brought to sell, notwithstanding that such a tax had never been levied before, and that the factors had already paid two duties on the money, one in Darbēlo and the other in this place 'at the Chowtralls[5]'. They insisted, therefore, that the Kotwāl should release the weavers and return the money he had seized; this at last he did, but at the same time threatened to enforce his demands in future. The factors had previously had trouble with him, and had then got him turned out of office for a time; they have

[1] Gambat, twelve miles south of Khairpur. It was once a centre of the cotton-weaving industry.

[2] Mr. G. P. Tate explains this as *Chahil-yak*, or one-fortieth, i.e. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

[3] Hind. *arbāb*, a lord or master.

[4] Mr. Tate informs me that this word in Sindi means 'a kick'. The sense here is evidently 'a fine', imposed by way of punishment.

[5] Perhaps 'choultries' is intended.

now made a fresh complaint and are promised that he shall be dismissed for good. Have received a further supply of moneys by bills from Ahmadābād. Note that all their letters have duly reached Surat. The Shāhbandar dispatched the Prince's new vessel to Mokha, but she was damaged in a storm and was forced to put back. The cloth they buy is of the ordinary bazaar length. They could probably get some of different dimensions, if required, as the weavers are anxious for work; but it would be dearer and no considerable quantity could be procured, for the weavers will only make special lengths so long as they are forced to do so. Garry reports from Nasarpur that the cloth investment is progressing favourably. Hope to get 100 corge a month there, as there are so few buyers. 'Wee were noe sooner arrived at Sunne [*see the* 1637–41 *volume*, p. 136] in our way hither but all the arbhaubs and indico makers in that place came to welcome us, much desiring that we would leave a man there, for that they should have halfe soe [much] againe as last yeare; which they saide wee [could] perceive by the addicion of new wheeles that they had sett [upon] the river to bring up water to there [grounds].' Having noticed that this was so, they encouraged them as much as possible, desiring them to make their indigo better than this; so they hope to procure a good and plentiful supply. Have not offered any advance to the saltpetre maker, he being indeed unwilling to receive any, 'by reason another saltpeter man informed the Governor that he made for us, of whom he should doe well to demand laggah; so hereuppon [he] was imprisoned, and after paying a little money got cleare'. Have written to Nasarpur about indigo; but for the present 'the cheife time for its making is spent'. The baftas will be dyed in Tatta; the cloth itself they intend to buy in Gambat. Will inquire as to the possibilities of obtaining freight at port; but the merchants are much discouraged. While the factors were there, the Prince's ship sank off the customhouse one night, when fully laden; and when she was got up, her cargo had all to be 'cured' again. Then came her recent mischance. A further subject of grievance is 'Bumbaes brothers ill usage; for its saide the King have fined him 100,000 rupees, which is a paying in Tattah; besides which the Princes and other great mens fees will carry away at least 50,000 rupees more. This all men exclaime againe[st], being the worst (they say) of all ill customes that

ever came upp yett; for now, if a merchant of fashion, or any other that hath but meanes, dyes, his wealth will be all seized on, though he hath children and brothers to leave it unto, and, haveing soe, the Kinge ought not pretend any right'. Money received from Ahmadābād for this year's investment. More will be required before the end of August; but if possible they will obtain this by drawing bills of exchange. Could not avoid taking back the broadcloth returned by the Shāhbandar, as he had done them many courtesies. Part of what he had he passed on to the Governor, but it was not paid for by the latter by the time of his death, which happened about March 20. 'Soe his goods being all seized and sealed by the Kings officers (as the manner is when any umbraw deceases), our broad cloth amoungst the rest was mett withall; but we, haveing a baraatt[1], and the Shabunder betweene, doubt not of its recoverye.' Mahābat Khān's second son[2], now in Gujarāt, has been granted the vacant post; and the King has sent an officer to see that none of Mīr Khān's effects be carried away—a poor reward for his long service. The news of bad markets in Persia will still further discourage the Tatta merchants and cause them to abstain from buying goods. Their agents here have gone away, after selling their pice to the English merchants. Notwithstanding, the price of cloth is very little less than last year; but the weavers have now shown more willingness to accept advances. The ordinary bazaar cloth is, however, much cheaper; if any is wanted, word should be sent at once, but at present the price is as low in Tatta as here, or even lower. The death of the Governor has invalidated 'the dustack [*see* p. 58] he gave us for freing us from the irkesome dutie of water rawdaere [*rāhdārī*, transit duty]; which now at our comeing forth we got reneued, being that some of the officers of the Ghaat began to trouble our boatemen. Soe if our goods goes downe before a new governour arives, it will receive much perturbation, besides the extreordinarye charges; for now uppon every place where duties are received sett both the Dewans servants and the deaceaseds aforesaid, as we were informed by the Drogah[3] of Chobarrghaat not long since.'

[1] Order for payment (*barāt*).

[2] Likewise called Mahābat Khān. He was afterwards twice Governor of Kābul, and enjoyed the favour of both Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb.

[3] *Dārogha* here means a chief of customs

Were it not for this, they would send down a boat's load of cloth, for the Governor of 'Sevestaune', whom they visited on their way up, has promised to respect the *dastak*. Spiller hopes to be back in Tatta about the middle of June. *PS.*[1]—Encloses an application from Scrivener for an increase of salary, and trusts it will be granted. (*Copy. Original received May* 8.)

Nicholas Scrivener at Kandiāro to the President and Council at Surat, April [17?], 1647[2] (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 143).

Reminds them that his covenanted period of service, viz. three years, at 20*l.* has long since expired, and begs that he may be granted an increased remuneration, which he will endeavour to deserve. Refers to the general letter for what has occurred since they left Tatta. (*Copy. Original received May* 8.)

George Tash, [Hugh] Fenn, and [Anthony] Smith at Ahmadābād to the Same, April 22, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 125).

Forward letters from the factors at Mokha, received from a Diu banyan. The Dutch made a provisional bargain for indigo, but it seems to have been disallowed by their chief at Surat. Suggest that an arrangement be made with them to buy about 600 maunds together and then share it. *PS.*—Request a supply of paper. (*Copy. Original received April* 28.)

Revett Walwyn at Broach to the Same, April 24, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 124).

Advising dispatch of certain piece-goods. Others will be ready shortly. (*Copy. Original received April* 26.)

Edward Knipe, Francis Hammersley, and Richard Davidge at Agra to the Same, April 24, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 149).

[*First part missing.*] Provision of sugar (?) and saltpetre. Fear that 1,200 maunds will be their limit as regards the latter; 'the begetters being extreamly troubled by the Kings officers, who forbid boyling

[1] Added by Spiller at Darbēlo. The date is indecipherable.
[2] Enclosed in the foregoing.

for any but the Kings cirkar[1]; yet, by corrupting with small bribes, we should finde little difficultye in procureing it, were the time of the yeare fitt for the action.' Thought it best to send the caravan by way of Ahmadābād, because there was no Englishman at Burhānpur to look after it. Hope to buy stick-lac and gum-lac in about a month's time. All the bills of exchange received have been duly cashed, except part of those last to hand. Concerning these, there is a dispute as to the money in which payment is to be made; and, to avoid further controversy on this point, they beg that in future all bills may 'runne in Shaw Jehaun rupees'. The Lucknow factors have had 70,000 rupees, while here nearly a lakh has been disbursed; further remittances will therefore be necessary. Have succeeded in reducing the rate of interest on their borrowings to three-quarters per cent. per month. Have inquired into the shortage discovered at Ahmadābād in some of the piece-goods sent down last year, and find that it was due to the fact that 'the Agra covett by the Kings comand uppon his last departure was made equall to the Lahoare covett, being better then $\frac{1}{3}$ of a gerrae[2] shorter then formerly, the difference computated at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.'. 'The musters of indico sent with the rymes[3] by generall report is made about Gwalleir, 40 course [*kos*] distant from this place Brampore way; whose substance, when extracted from the leafe, not being sufficiently conglutenous to be made into such guttees[4] usuall in Byanah and other places and continue the same firme when dry, but doth crumble and suddainely breake into small peeces, therefore doe the makers incorporate therewith rice water to make it hold together; which is the reason it is soe hard and flinty. It is sayde by these dyers to be a bad and base sort of indico, of little [ ] difficult in the workeing.' Express their thanks for the news sent them. Knipe desires to learn unto whom he is to deliver up his accounts; also permission to arrange for coming to Surat. (*Copy. Original received May* 24.)

[1] Hind. *sarkār*: see note on p. 160 of the 1618–21 volume.

[2] See note on p. 300 of the previous volume.

[3] 'Rim' or 'rime' is an old English word for a skin or membrane. Possibly the reference is to the Indian way of packing this particular kind of indigo.

[4] Cakes or balls: see p. 31 *n*. The word seems to be connected with Latin *guttae*, 'drops'.

EDWARD PEARCE [AT SWALLY MARINE] TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, APRIL 25 (?), 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 122).

Account of goods still on board the *Supply*. Planks wanted for her use. Griffin thinks that, if it could be spared, 'the new jallewott [*see the preceding volume*, p. 197] that is made at Surratt' would be very useful to that vessel in the Straits of Malacca. Forgot to advise that Cherry put on shore some of the Bombay rice, declaring that he had no room for it. 'Serias' [*see the previous volume*, p. 130] wanted for sails; also some powder. *PS*.—Desires some 'salloes [1]' for ensigns and flags. (*Copy*.)

ROBERT HEYNES AND JOHN LEWIS AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT [APRIL 25?] 1647 [2] (*Ibid.*, p. 152).

Answer the letter from Surat brought by the Dutch *Snoek*. Regret that it came too late to prevent the sale of their pepper. Note that certain 'falce abes' [*abbāsīs*] &c. have been recharged to this factory; doubt not to make the broker allow for them. Of Sind goods they desire only half the quantity sent this year, but these must be fine and good. Will keep Surat informed of the state of the markets, which of late have proved to be very bad. The *Antelope* is now unladen, and will go over to Larak for ballast and water. They have little or no hope at present of freight for her, but will do their best. As directed, they will remit by her 15,000 rials of eight; but they are troubled as to the specie in which to send that sum. 'Ryalls by all relacion is all the mony that is sent thither; but they are soe scarce now in towne that few or none are to be had. For new abes, if you meane those of 10 graines, they are not procureable; if they be, we shall endeavour to gett them. Therefore, if we faile of these two speties, new mony of 9 graines or turpora or chickines [sequins] must make oup the summe.' Will be careful not to detain the vessel longer than is necessary. Promise to treat Codrington with all friendly respect. Enclose copy of their invoice per *Delftshaven*. On

[1] See note on p. 110. The cloth was of a Turkey-red colour, and therefore suitable for the purpose indicated.

[2] The portion containing the date has disappeared; but the reference to the departure of the *Antelope* for Masulipatam (April 25) furnishes the necessary clue. Apparently this letter was sent by an Indian junk.

March 26 they received letters, money, and goods from Wilton; the money will be sent to Masulipatam. Four days later came another letter from him, enclosing a new farmān from the King for the shipment of their horses, and intimating that he had written them by Dutch conveyance. As this missive has not reached them, they fear it is detained by the Hollanders to prevent their proceedings at Ispahān from being known. On March 28 arrived the Dutch *Liefde* from Masulipatam. List of the goods she brought and the prices they realized. Particulars of their own sales and the amount produced. Wish that an English ship were here, bound for Surat, as they could easily have procured freight for her. News of one of Courteen's vessels. Still intend to transmit the 'guldares' to Basra for sale. The nākhudā of a Masulipatam junk arrived here reported that he had been robbed of a quantity of cloth by two Portuguese ships, bound for Europe; he exhibited the Viceroy's pass, but this was disregarded, as were the protests of a number of Dutchmen on board. *PS.*—The [*Antelope*?] returned from Larak on the 22nd, having with some difficulty obtained sufficient ballast. She could get no water there, and so the factors have had to provide her with a supply here. She will sail either to-day or to-morrow. Yesterday the Dutch 'cossett' brought letters from Wilton, advising that 'on the 11th [ultimo? two Dut]ch comissaries[1] arived at Spahane, who [ ]inge with 500 ashruphees[2], 5½ pieces of broad[cloth] and a cloke. [ ]ence as performed nothing; but, as he is in[formed they] desire silk for 35 or 40 tomand per load. [ ]theire was about. One of them told Etta[mon] Dow[lett that they] desired to be merchants, not souldiers in the [Kings coun]try; to whom Curche Bassau[3] returned an[nswer that they] comenced acts of hostillity.' (*Copy.*)

EDWARD PEARCE [AT SWALLY MARINE] TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, APRIL 26, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 124).

Six bales of white cloth have been found on board and will be sent up. Desires instructions as to the goods which are to go to

[1] See p. 101.

[2] Arabic *ashrafī*, applied to various gold coins.

[3] The *Qūrchī Bāshī* (see note on p. 297 of the preceding volume).

Surat in the boats. Deceit of 'Nanaby' [Nānābhāi] regarding the 'coles' [i.e. charcoal]. Powder and shot wanted for the *Supply*. (*Copy*.)

Revett Walwyn at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, April 27, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 128).

Sends down a last batch of piece-goods and desires instructions whether he is to remain here. (*Copy. Original received April* 29.)

Samuel Wilton at Ispahān to the Company, April 30, 1647 (*O.C.* 2035).

Particulars of goods sold since Heynes left this city on December 17; the proceeds were sent to Gombroon, arriving on March 24, four days after the *Francis* had sailed. The *Expedition* and *Lanneret* reached that port in December: the *Falcon* on January 13: the *Endeavour* and *Seahorse* on February 6: and the *Antelope* on April 4. 'The 2d January arrived the India embassador in very greate state, yett altogeither slighted of the King and as yett hath not any satisfactory answer unto his embassadge, it being altogeither displeaseing to the King, the Mogull requireing three considerable places, viz. Meshett, Herree, Farrar[1]; soe that it is very probable they will wage warre one with other. The 7th March[2] arrived of the Dutch two equalls, tearmed comissaries, to contract with this King for silke; yett, notwithstanding theyr large present and fayre promises to defend the port of Gombroone against all enemies, they have not made any contract with the King. They desire silke for 42 temaunds per loade; the King will not give it them under 46 temaunds; when they will give that price, they shall have leave to buy of merchants 30 loads for each 100 they buy of the King. And with this answer the aforesaid equalls left Spa[han] the 26th current, leaveing the busines for their Gennerall to decide.' ($1\frac{1}{4}$ *p. Received via Aleppo October* 14.)

[1] Meshed: Herāt, the old name of which was Heri (cf. the Heri Rud): and Farrah, a town now mostly in ruins, but once a place of importance as the frontier town of Persia on the caravan route between Ispahān and Kandahār.

[2] This does not agree with the statement on p. 124.

Revett Walwyn at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, May 1, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 119).

Trusts that the blue cloth for Achin has arrived safely. The Dutch are giving six or seven pice more than the English for each piece of cloth, and Walwyn is not likely to get much unless he is allowed to offer the same price. *P.S.*—Suggests a present to the Governor here, to whom the Dutch have already given one. (*Copy. Original received May* 3.)

Edward Pearce at Swally Marine to the President at Surat, May 1, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 129).

Assures him that note has already been taken of the number on each bale sent to Swally; but the contents cannot be stated unless the bales be opened. Encloses bills of lading and list of the packet forwarded to Madraspatam in the *Endeavour*. The *Supply* is now sailing. Suggests that peons be sent down to watch the Company's goods, 'until wee have your order to dispose of them and to break up the Mareen[1]'. (*Copy.*)

The Same to the Same, May 2, 1647 (*Ibid.*, pp. 130, 117).

Encloses particulars of the goods he has warehoused at Swally. If any of the bales are to be opened, packers should be sent down. Requests orders as to the goods to be dispatched to Surat. Will forward two anchors. (*Copy.*)

The Same to the Same, May 2, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 117).

The reason why the *Supply* was delayed was that a boat had to be sent back to fetch some bread that had been left behind, 'through the moodies [*modī*, house-steward] base negligence'. Transport of China ware and coral to Surat. (*Copy. Original received May* 3.)

[Thomas] Breton, [aboard the *Endeavour*] at 'Aguado[2]', to the President and Council at Surat, May 2, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 160).

Death (?) of Robert Mildmay. Proceedings of Courteen's factors

[1] The temporary encampment on the beach at Swally.

[2] The *Aguada*, or watering-place, near Goa: see a note on p. 7 of the 1637–41 volume.

and ships. Has delivered the President's letter to the Viceroy, who treated him with great courtesy and appeared to be very desirous of maintaining good relations with the English. He entrusted to Breton his letters for St. Thomé. The carpet was duly delivered to the Viceroy, who will pay the value of it to 'Lewis Ribero'. Money due to the latter for arrack, &c., purchased for the ship. (*Copy. Original received June 7.*)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the Same, May 4, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, pp. 120, 138).

Now answer the Surat letter of April 23, received five days later. As for saltpetre, the 1,500 maunds formerly mentioned are well advanced, but it will be difficult to procure a much larger supply, owing in part to the fact that the recent restraint has discouraged the manufacture. The only way they can think of is to procure the assent of the 'barahs[1]' to allow the English to share with the Dutch; and this they are endeavouring privately to effect. 'Wee have purchased a very convenient plott of ground for our dyinge house, being exceedingly commodious for its neareness, which is such as that wee have passage to it through our owne house, whereof it is made a part. The dyeing fatts, which are 36 in number (and soe many our occasions will require), are in such forwardness as that they will in a few dayes bee finished; and heartily glad wee are that wee shall have noe further occasion of trouble to the Cirqueez [Sarkhej] dyers, or to be troubled with them, whose former ill usage first put us upon this more provident course, to their great hinderance.' Will do their best to procure the narrow 'chints' required. Are not sorry that the Governor has been disappointed in his desires, for he deserves no favours. His 'oppressing the inocent and deluding the poore of theire hire', and 'his unheerd of tiranie in depopulating whole townes of miserably pore people, under pretence of there harbouring theives and rogues (whilst those that are such may walke untoucht at noone day) are greivous testimonies of his rigged disposition', though the factors themselves 'are only spectators, and not sufferers.' Much regret that Mīr Mūsā is 'outed',

[1] Possibly *Bohrās*, who in Gujarāt are often peasant-cultivators.

as he has helped them greatly. 'His unseasonable complaints against the Governour haveing occasioned him some disgrace with the Kinge, the oppertunitie was soe followed by his potent freinds as that the evell he intended to the Governour is happened to himselfe and hee thereby well neare undone.' The moneylenders here are still unwilling to consent to a lower rate than $\frac{13}{16}$ [per cent. per month ?] ; but since the factors have now permission to draw upon Surat for 12,000 rupees, they hope to gain their point. Joyce offers his humble thanks for the favour bestowed upon him. They were glad to receive permission to buy a quantity of 'bafta cloth of all sortes, being at present far cheaper then in any former times we have knowne it'. Suggest the purchase of a further number of 'byrams'. Learnt last night that several caravans had been dispatched from Agra. The broadcloth, &c., sent up under Clitherow's charge has been duly received. That intended for the Governor has been dispatched to him ; while with the scarlet they have paid their debt to Mīr Mūsā. Are grateful for the news imparted, and join in the hope that 'that part which concerns our late deplorable countrey may bee by the Almightyes mercye confirmed, soe that both King and kingdome may againe rejoyce in a happy and flourishinge peace'. Have not yet concluded the recovery of way charges, but fear that the amount is not likely to exceed 100 rupees. Some of those concerned plead poverty ; 'others deny its receipt ; others are outed ; and indeed the greatest part fallen into our Governours owne hands, who is not accustomed to make restitucion.' In recovering the 100 rupees, they have spent fifty in charges ; and so the chief benefit to be expected is the quiet passing of future caravans. The Dutch have abandoned their indigo bargain. Forward the two 'dustaes' [Hind. *dasta*, a quire] of paper asked for ; also some letters received from Tatta last evening. Have just heard a rumour that the first caravan from Agra is within two days of this place ; renew accordingly their request for instructions concerning it. *PS.*—Have just received the Surat letter of April 30. Desire to know whether they are to imitate the Dutch in suspending the purchase of indigo, or whether they should take the opportunity to buy 100 bales. Are sending to Dholka for the 'serias' required. (*Copy. Original received May* 8.)

THOMAS IVY AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MAY 10, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 170).

Wrote last on March 28. Now reply to a letter since received, the instructions in which shall be duly observed. No news has been heard of the ship intended for Pegu; and the delay will prove a great hindrance, for no money can be borrowed here to make the necessary investment. In any case the vessel cannot now proceed thither till August, as the monsoon is over and the Pegu coast is dangerous in June or July, particularly for those unacquainted with it. The Dutch have a ship at Pulicat already prepared for a voyage to Pegu, but have postponed her departure till August, doubtless for the reasons already given. The *Advice* arrived here from Bantam on May 5 with a cargo invoiced at 37,000 rials of eight. She only brought in money 5,000 rials, 'to pay 25,000 which we are indebted. This is our miserie. The times are such here that goods will not sell at any rate; and at Mesulapatam the Governor will not suffer any merchant to buy any goods; soe all that is sould there he takes at what price he listeth.' The tortoise shells that have lain there so long unsold, they intend to forward to Surat in the *Antelope*. This letter has been kept back four days in the hope that the Pegu ship would arrive in the interim. (*Copy. Original received July* 12.)

REVETT WALWYN AT BROACH TO THE SAME, MAY 16, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 144).

Sends a few pieces of bafta; but cannot get any quantity, as the Dutch are paying two or three pice a piece more than he can give without further order. Will provide the 'Gunny stuffs' desired. As soon as he hears of the approach of a caravan from Ahmadābād he will send soldiers to meet it 'on this side Brodera [Baroda], because the wayes are very dang[erous, there] being a caphila some three daies since robbed ab[out] miles from hence. Last night the Governours souldiers went to the rouges towne, but they all fled, and left only there cattle, which were this day sould in the bazar, to the number of 300 cowes and boffeloes.' On the arrival of the caravan the 'dereabauds' and

'mercooles' will be taken out and the rest of the goods sent on to Surat as directed. Rain seems to be approaching. On the Governor's arrival the question of a present for him will have to be considered. The 'Fousdarr' [*faujdār*, a military commander] has now promised to order some of his soldiers at 'Samloat Tanna[1]' to go meet the caravan; and these, with a few peons Walwyn is about to send from this place, will secure it from danger. *PS.*—Desires some paper and quills. Prices of the 'musters' sent. (*Copy. Original received May* 17.)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, May 17, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 147).

Acknowledge receipt of six bills of exchange, and explain why this was not done before. Formerly advised that they had arranged with Mīrzā Alī Akbar that the 10,000 rupees due to him should be paid at Surat; now desire that this may be done. The interest has been paid to his 'vaqueile' [agent: *wakīl*] here. Nothing has been heard of the caravan, and they are uneasy about its safety. When it does arrive, they will hasten it forward, and possibly send 'one of our family' to take care of it on the way. 'Our Governour havinge most unjustly and unconscionably forced some bunjarras [*banjārā*, an itinerant dealer] to sell him a parcell of suggar and thereby made an unlawfull gaine of a 1000 rupees, is soe well incouraged thereby that he is now intended to become the sole merchant of this place, being in hand to engross all the indico that the citty and countrey will affoard, our indico brokers being to that purpose yesterday convented before him. We doe not finde it probable that he should make any gaine hereby this yeare, the indico men being likewise resolved to oppose his proceedings herein to the utmost; but should he thrive in his project, wee may then expect shortly to fetch our butter and rice from him; nor know we any reason why he may not rather and with more reputacion proceed soe then in exacting a tribute from poore cossetts hyre.' As yet the factors are not affected, but they will be if he perseveres with the indigo scheme, 'since questionless in this business he hath

[1] Sāmlod is about 11 miles north-east of Broach. A *thāna* was a military or police post.

an eye upon the Christians.' Will advise any developments later. (*Copy. Original received May* 22.)

GILBERT GRIMES, ROBERT NORWOOD, AND THOMAS CLARK [ABOARD THE *GREYHOUND*] AT JOHANNA TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, MAY 26 (?), 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 186).

After leaving the Downs, 'Mr. John Prowd, Mr. Thomas Jee, and wee two fly boats[1]' kept company until they had passed the Canaries, when the *William* separated from the rest. On June 11, as the *Dolphin* sailed much better than the other two, it was decided by a consultation that she should go on ahead. On June 26 the *Antelope* and *Greyhound* lost company, but met again on July 13. It was then agreed to keep together and if, when near the head of Madagascar, they found themselves belated, to make for Mauritius. Not long after, however, they lost each other at night, in latitude 29° 48′ S., and the *Greyhound* continued her voyage alone. [*Part illegible.*] Mauritius was reached in September. Departed thence in March, 1647, and proceeded to St. Augustine's Bay, where letters were found, left there by the *Antelope*. On May 7 the *Farewell* arrived. The blacks brought on board letters left by Capt. Smart, narrating the failure of his colony. The two ships sailed on May 13, and on the [24th] reached this place, where they found six of Smart's people, the rest having gone to India in Thompson's vessel. Trade in Madagascar is utterly spoiled, for the natives, though they were given a present, kept entirely aloof from them. (*Copy.*)

ROBERT TINDALL, NICHOLAS READ, AND WILLIAM CURTIS[2], ABOARD THE *FAREWELL* AT JOHANNA, TO THE COMPANY, MAY 27, 1647 (*O.C.* 2037).

Sailed from the Downs January 17, and on February 4 sighted the Canaries. Passed the Cape April 20, and anchored in St. Augustine's Bay May 7. There they met Captain Grimes in the *Greyhound*, who, having lost his passage for Surat, had wintered

[1] The *Antelope* and *Greyhound*. Thomas Gee was master of the *William*, and John Proud of the *Dolphin*. They commenced their voyage in April, 1646 (see p. 76).
[2] The master, purser, and chief mate respectively.

at Mauritius. The natives were afraid to come on board until a hostage had been sent ashore; and, as soon as they got back again, they all disappeared, fearing reprisals for their attacks on Courteen's settlers. The two ships sailed on May 13, and eleven days later anchored near the Queen's town on Johanna. Tindall and Grimes went ashore to visit the Queen, to whom they gave a present to the value of seven pieces of eight, receiving in return 'a beefe'. At this island they found three men and three boys, part of Courteen's settlers; three others had died since Smart's departure. The *Farewell* is in excellent condition and her crew in perfect health. They are sailing to-day, leaving the *Greyhound* behind. (1¼ *pp.*)

ROBERT TINDALL, ABOARD THE *FAREWELL* AT JOHANNA, TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, MAY 28, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 234).

Is glad of this opportunity of thanking the President for many favours received. Narrates his voyage from England to this place. The natives of Madagascar 'are mighty shie of us now'. Failure of Smart's settlement. Is now about to sail. (*Copy. Original received September* 26.)

THOMAS WINTER AND RICHARD HUDSON AT MASULIPATAM TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JUNE 8, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 172).

On May 24 they received the Surat letter of April 20, which was duly forwarded to the Agent at Madraspatam. Now enclose a packet from the latter place. Cannot sell their coral, or in fact do anything without ready money. Thank them for the details about the disposal of the shipping. (*Copy. Original received July* 12.)

[REVETT] WALWYN AT BROACH TO THE SAME, [JUNE —] 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 161).

Purchase of piece-goods. Will send further samples of 'Gynny stuffes'. Nothing has yet been heard of the caravan; but he will not fail to dispatch soldiers to meet it on its approach, 'the wayes being soe dangerous that noboddy here dares goe three miles out of the towne.' (*Copy.*)

The Same to the Same, [June —] 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 162).

Purchase of baftas. The specimens of 'Gynny stuffes' are not yet ready. News of the caravan. (*Copy.*)

[The Factors at Ahmadābād] to the Same, [June —] 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 162).

The two caravans, proceeding in company, were surprised by violent rains and several bales were drenched. These were brought back and the contents dried and repacked, with the result that it was not until the 11th that a fresh start was made, under the charge of Hugh Fenn. List of the goods. Indebtedness of the factory. Provision of indigo. Difficulty of obtaining saltpetre. Proceedings of the Dutch. Purchase of 'byrams'. Discharge of the debt to Mīrzā Alī Akbar. Arbitrary behaviour of the Governor towards the dealers in indigo. (*Copy. Original received* [*June*] 21.)

[William] Hicks, [Walter] Littleton, and Francis [Pitt]meer at Rāybāg to the President at Surat, June 16 (?), 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 163).

Captain Thompson, of the *Ruth*, has declared his intention of seizing the junks of these parts in satisfaction of his losses. They have protested, but he remains firm in his resolve. Desire that means may be taken for preventing him from carrying out his threat; otherwise, 'we are all lost men and shall perish, either through some violent meanes or imprisonment, the manner of which in this country is not unknowne to you; as alsoe the injustice and crueltye of these people, if inraged. Sir, we beleive we shall [not ?] be sufferers alone, but (as formerly in the like case) these people will fall one you for satisfaction; wherein they will bee theire owne carvers.' Beg that the enclosed letters may be forwarded to England. (*Copy.*)

John Spiller at Tatta to the President and Council at Surat, June 21, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 174).

Wrote last from Darbēlo, and in that letter narrated how badly the weavers had been used. They were, however, induced to set to

work again, with the result that by the 20th [May?] twenty-seven bales of cloth were ready. These were put into a boat and sent to 'Tugghen[1], the place where all boates are cleared; where after [waiting?] a good three daies we got the cheheleaheeck [*see* p. 118] officers to goe to the waters side, and at last customed our cloth and freed our boate.' [*Portion illegible.*] Describes his proceedings at various places in going down the river, and the steps taken at Tatta for washing the cloth. The Shāhbandar has made fresh overtures regarding the transport of goods in the English ships; in reply he was told that if he and the merchants would agree as to the freight they were willing to give, the matter would be referred to Surat. [*Portion illegible.*] 'Aboute the [ ] present came hither a khasudele[2] from Ahmada[bad], being an express sent hither with divers letters of congge[3] to advise of the usage Allee Eckbarr (the farmer of Surratt &c. customes) hath afforded unto divers merchants; which should seeme is such as they are resolved to indure noe more then necessitie inforces and constraines them to. Therefore have advised that what monies &c. they formerlie inordered and usually was sent to Surratt should now be dispeeded for this port; for whose accomodacion the Shabunder intreated that I would write unto Gombrone, that they if possible might have a vessell of ours; but in this I told him I could doe nothinge [and expect?] to heare no more of it. By which perceive the merchants usage is bad in all places; for Bumbaes brothers here are still in trouble, one day free and another in prison; of whom is demanded customes as much as they anually used to pay when they traded (for this yeare they have little), and I feare wilbe forced to make it good, though never [so] unreasonable.' [*Part illegible.*] Money sent to Nasarpur and other out-stations. (*Copy. Original received July* 18.)

THOMAS IVY AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JUNE 24, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 183).

Enclose a copy of their previous letter. Arrival of the *Endeavour* and the *Francis*. Thomas Breton was dispatched on May 26 in

[1] Possibly the present village of Tuggur, about 5 miles west of Darbēlo. It is not now on the river.

[2] Apparently *qāsid* (see p. 100) is intended.

[3] Congee (Fr. *congé*).

the latter vessel to Tegnapatam with 10,000 rupees to buy goods for Persia. The *Antelope* came in from Gombroon on June 7, and was sent to Masulipatam two days later. On June 3 the *Endeavour* sailed for [ ], some thirty leagues to the north of this place, to lade rice; she is expected back within ten days. The freight she will earn will more than defray the charges. The *Antelope* should be back again here by July 20, and will then be returned to Masulipatam with such goods as have been provided for Persia. The *Francis* is being sent to-day to Armagon for rice. The *Advice* has gone to Tegnapatam to bring back Breton. Expect to dispatch the *Endeavour* for Pegu by the end of August, and the *Antelope* for Surat by September 10. Forward letters from Bantam and the Company, received by a Dutch conveyance. *PS.*—Request the accounts of the crew of the *Francis*; also those of Richard Underwood and Francis Debum. (*Copy.*)

JOHN SPILLER AT DARBĒLO TO THE SAME, JUNE 29 (?), 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 178).

Encloses a transcript of his last, to which, it being so recent, he has little to add. Progress of the investment here. (*Copy. Original received* [*July*] 18.)

RICHARD WALLIS AT MOKHA TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, JUNE 30, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 227).

Requests that those things of his which were put ashore from the *Falcon* may be handed over to Mr. Baines, to whom he has written accordingly. (*Copy. Original received September* 20.)

THOMAS IVY, THOMAS BRETON, AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JULY 4, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 185).

Forward transcript of their previous letter. Since then Breton has arrived from Tegnapatam, 'but brought noe more goods then what hee sent per the *Francis*, the tymes and fammine being there as bade or worse then here.' Yesterday came in the *Farewell* from England, bringing the enclosed letters from the Company. [*Part*

illegible.] Complain that the Company blames them wrongly for the voyage of the *Falcon* to Persia. Further, although formerly Greenhill was ordered home, now the increase of wages to him, advised by the *Mary*, is confirmed by the Court. Evidently matters are dealt with at home without serious consideration. (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Damaged. Original received August* 6.)

GEORGE TASH AND HUGH FENN AT AHMADĀBĀD TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JULY 10, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 173).

Nothing material has happened since they wrote last on June 27. [*Portion illegible.*] Trade here is at a standstill, owing to the Governor's tyrannous behaviour. [*Portion illegible.*] Troubles with the carters who brought down the Agra goods. The horse sent up from Surat died soon after arrival; beg that another may be dispatched as soon as possible. (*Copy.*)

[WILLIAM] HICKS, [FRANCIS PITT]MEER, AND [WALTER] LITTLETON AT RĀYBĀG TO THE PRESIDENT AT SURAT, JULY 14, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 194).

'Your servant Beimedas' [Benī Dās], who recently arrived here, has informed them that he met their messengers within four days of Surat. Trust therefore to receive an answer shortly. (*Copy.*)

PRESIDENT BAKER, HENRY GREENHILL, AND MATTHEW NOWELL AT BANTAM TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JULY 14, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 211).

[*Part illegible.*] Have formerly advised their having written to the master of the *Greyhound* at Mauritius, ordering him to come on to this place to lade pepper &c. for Surat. On June 24 another letter was received from him, dated at Mauritius on March 27 (copy of which is enclosed), announcing his intention of sailing for Madagascar at the end of that month ; so their expectation of seeing him here is frustrated. They are consequently compelled to dispatch the *Hind* to Surat instead of to Jambi, whither the *Mary* must now go herself to fetch the better part of her lading. This will probably cause trouble with her captain. Account of the goods destined for Surat in the *Hind*, consisting of black pepper, tortoise shells,

cubebs, brimstone, long pepper, cassia lignum, and three parrots (which cost 26 rials of eight): total cost, 31,863 rials 14*d.* The inclusion of the pepper, however, is dependent upon the arrival of the *Michael* from Jambi in time. This consignment is in excess of what is usually sent; but this is done because they find a great demand in these parts for Surat piece-goods, especially on the West Coast of Sumatra, where they sell to very good profit. Particulars of the kinds most in demand. Will be 'more copious' by the *Hind.* *PS.*—Have just received a Surat letter of April 14, acquainting them that the *Francis* will not be sent hither. Much regret this decision, as she would have been of more use here than at the Coast. (*Copy. Original received September* 19.)

Charles Wylde at Bantam to the President at Surat, July 14, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 214).

Was taken ashore at the Coast to go to Mokha in a junk belonging to Mīr Jumla; but after waiting two months at Masulipatam and finding the junk still far from ready, he was dispatched by Winter to Fort St. George in a small vessel laden with rice, &c. There the Agent sent the boat to 'Tinnombar' [Tranquebar?], to one Nathaniel Burton[1], 'who a little before had cast away the vessell hee went in.' Burton was bound for Baticola, in Ceylon, 'where in our voyage now to Bantam wee mett him'. The Agent took Wylde on shore to assist him, but gave him the option of proceeding to Bantam if he wished. He chose to stay at Fort St. George, especially as his books, instruments, &c., were still at Masulipatam. Wallis was sent in his place to Mokha. When the *Seaflower* reached Madraspatam on her way to Bantam, her purser, John Brown (merchant at Masulipatam), died; and among his papers were found certain charges made against Wylde by Trumball. Thereupon the Agent declared that Wylde must proceed to Bantam. 'I tould him I was in the Companies service and did them good service (God knows) for the small wages I received, 18*s.* per mensem.' In particular, when he went to Mokha, Trumball and White overshot their port, and the error was detected by Wylde, to the annoyance of the master, who on the return voyage treated

[1] For an earlier mention of this man see the 1637–41 volume, p. 269.

him 'more like a boy then a mate'. Hopes to have an opportunity at Swally to show the President his journals and charts of his voyages on the Coast and to Mokha, 'and the discovery of Zealan [Ceylon]: which place I thinke man never sawe a better, I say only for the mannaging of the Companies affayres; for trimeing of there ships and for good tymber man never saw better in these parts, Madraspatam being but a dung hill to it.[1] The Daines shippe we mett here in the bottome of the bay; which bay lyeth in latitude, by severall observacions I made, 8° 20′ north; this Daines ship being 400 tunnes and brought four horses for a pischcash [present] to the King of Candy, and are likely to gaine comerce with the Chingalas [i.e. Cingalese], which are the natives of this place. They trade here in cynamon, beetlenutts, and all sorts of grayne, which yeilds great proffitt one the Coast betwixt Trinckolamar and Metchlepatam.' Wylde's enforced departure for Bantam obliged him to leave most of his effects at Masulipatam; and he had previously sustained a considerable loss, for, in going down to Madraspatam from that place, he was under the necessity of throwing overboard during a storm a quantity of butter and rice he was carrying (with Winter's permission) on his own account. Is at present employed here at Bantam, but hopes to go back in the next ship to the Coast, and thence to Surat, as purser of one of the Company's small vessels. Would have gone direct to Surat in the *Hind*, but was loth to abandon what he had left at Masulipatam. Craves pardon for this 'ribble rabble'. (*Copy. Original received September* 19.)

[1] In his journal of the outward voyage of the *Bonito*, given on a later page, Wylde makes it clear that the reference here is to the Bay of Trincomali, of which he gives a drawing and the following description: 'In my voyage to Bantam in the *Seaflower* we anchored ther, and in a very fine bay, all sandy ground. Wee staied there nine dayes, in which time wee bought henns, limes, and such fruite as the country did affoard; three henns for a fanan Madras (which is three pence), one hundredweight limes for a fanan, and large dryed fish very plentifull and very cheape. Very good hunting of large staggs, wild hoggs, and very good fouling; peacockes, duck, teale, brangeese [i.e. brentgeese], and large hearnes are very plentifull. Our water wee filled out of the wells which were digged by the Portugall[s], but since there departure many stoped up. Here is a very large lake or pond of fresh water as you goe towards the black pointe, where we did swim and wash ourselves, which I thinke is very dry . . . . Here may ride a 1000 saile of shipps and never be discovered.'

Revett Walwyn at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, [July] 15, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 179).

Progress of the bleaching of the 'deriabauds' and 'mercooles', which are of excellent quality, especially the former. Will also put in hand the 'cureing' of a quantity of Broach baftas. Some 'eckbarres' missing. [*Part illegible.*] His purchase of cloth is much hindered by Dutch competition. (*Copy. Original received* [*July*] 18.)

Thomas Winter and other Factors at Masulipatam to the Same, July [ ], 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 188).

Forward letters received from Madraspatam last night. (*Copy.*)

Thomas Winter at Masulipatam to the Same, July 16, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 188).

The Surat letter of May 25 to Madraspatam was received at the end of last month. [*Part illegible.*] The junk piloted by John Gayton was wrecked on Ceylon. The passengers had previously much abused Gayton and set him ashore on one of the Maldives, 'where with greife he dyed; and they chose a pilott of theire owne cast, who conducted them on the rocks of Columba.' Encloses letters received yesterday from Madraspatam, including a transcript of one addressed by the Company to Bantam, which will show what shipping has been sent to these parts. Clark is returned from Persia; but it is believed that he and his associates will hardly be able to keep their ship long with such unprofitable voyages; they are now bound for the Bay. The Mīr Jumla's junk and a Dutch ship have also arrived from Persia. The *Antelope* has been for fifteen days at a place about ten leagues to the northwards, to take in her lading of freighted rice, but the weather has been so foul that no boat could get on board her. However, it is now fairer, and they hope to dispatch her to Madraspatam very shortly. *PS.*—Arrival of the *Endeavour* and *Francis*. (*Copy.*)

Edward Knipe, Richard Davidge, and William Jesson at Agra to the President and Council at Surat, July 19, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 190).

Wrote last on April [24]. Account of caravans dispatched and the expense of the same. Extortions of the carters. Jesson, Burnell, and Blackwell arrived here from 'Lucknoo' on the 3rd current. List of goods now ready at Biāna. House hired at Lucknow for the Company's occasions. [*Part illegible.*] Purchase of shell-lac. The indigo available is too poor to be worth buying. On May 25 they advised the Ahmadābād factors of the death of Asālat Khān and desired them to communicate the news to Surat. 'We have not learnt certainely whither his end was naturall or violent. The King, [it is] certainely reported, will bee att Dilly before 5 mounths be over. What success his army hath had in Black [i.e. Balkh] are strange contrarieties in the report. The Hindoos (?) and devoute (?) sorte of Hindestan Moores would have him prosper in that enterprize: the Mogulls and Armenians affirme the contrary. The best of his notables tender such notable arguments as to entice any reasonable mans apprehension to beleive he can possibly finish the accion with preservation of his honour.' Believe that the goods they have provided will be found acceptable. The broadcloth sent up from Ahmadābād three months ago is shortly expected. [*Part illegible.*] Knipe is ready to make over charge to whomsoever they please to appoint. Hammersly is expected from Biāna, where he has been nearly two months. Acknowledge the receipt of letters from Surat of April 23, with two bills of exchange, which have been duly cashed. 'The tydings reported by the French padre, that the King hath wrought peace with the Parliment, wee pray for the truth thereof; allthough saide disadvantagious unto him (which is great probabillity), will be abundantly countervayled by the advantage to the kingdome.' *PS.*—Caution Surat against taking bills on certain shroffs here, whose position is shaky. (*Copy.*)

[President Baker and Council at Bantam] to the Same, [July 19?] 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 209).

Are glad the *Hart* arrived safely. Her long detention in Indian

waters has proved somewhat inconvenient to this presidency. [*Part illegible.*] The Company's orders that any further attempt to trade with Manilla should be made from Bantam was not due to any prompting on the part of the present writers. Have now, however, received from the Governor and Council of that place a 'flatt prohibition' of a fresh voyage, on penalty of forfeiture of ship and goods, unless the leave of the King of Spain be previously obtained. Besides, there is no likelihood of safe trade thither while the Dutch are blockading the port, for which purpose a large fleet sailed from Batavia in April last. No further attempt will therefore be made until fresh orders arrive from England. Deficiencies found in the cargo brought from Surat by the *Hart.* [*Part illegible.*] Thank them for the rosewater, soap, wheat, &c., sent in that ship, and request a further supply. In a letter dispatched by way of Coromandel in March last, they advised what a miserable condition they were in, owing to the want of shipping here. [*Part illegible.*] As requested, they are sending to Surat some of the guns from the *Swan*; but new carriages must be made for them, as the old were not worth the freight. The letters from Surat intended for Manilla will be returned by the first conveyance. Now reply to a further letter of April 14, received by way of Batavia on the 8th current. As this came open, no doubt the Dutch have made themselves acquainted with its contents. [*Part illegible.*] Regret that the *Francis* was not dispatched hither from Surat with iron and saltpetre, as was at first intended; for not only would the vessel herself have been most useful but also her cargo might have been sold to the Spanish General at Macassar. Peniston, who is now resident at that place, has asked for a supply of those commodities, and it is hoped therefore that Surat will forward a consignment by the next ship. The dispatch of the *Francis* to the Coast with rice is of course a matter within the competence of the Surat Council. [*Part illegible.*] Dispatch of the *Endymion* to England, and in her [Richard] Wotton, who had been recalled by the Company. Movements of other ships. [*Part illegible.*] Dogs wanted for presentation to the King of [Bantam ?]. He is also expecting some letters from the Viceroy of Goa; if these be sent by way of Surat, they should be forwarded without delay. John Boyer, who was deputed hither to act as pilot for Manilla, returns to Surat in this ship to

answer some accusations made against him. Testify to his good behaviour while here; and would be glad to employ him again. If not, some other qualified person should be sent. [*The rest is wanting.*] (*Copy.*)

PRESIDENT BAKER, HENRY GREENHILL, AND MATTHEW NOWELL, ABOARD THE *HIND* IN BANTAM ROAD, TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JULY 20, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 210).

Since coming on board to dispatch the ship, two things have presented themselves, which necessitate further advice. The first concerns certain goods belonging to Thomas Child, the carpenter; an account of these should be demanded from the master, Henry Benn. The second relates to two Portuguese passengers. [*Part illegible.*] (*Copy. Original received September* 17.)

[JOHN SPILLER AT TATTA] TO THE SAME, [JULY —] 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 194).

Has little to add to his letter of the 21st ultimo. Bills of exchange received from Ahmadābād. [*Part illegible.*] Goods expected from Kandiāro. The merchants here began to buy goods again, but were stopped by news that the Captain of Muskat's vessel had been forced into Chaul and had lost her voyage. The Shāhbandar has been called to court; 'it should seeme the bad successe this bunder [i.e. port] hath had this yeare is come to the Princes knowledge.' Encloses a cash balance to the end of last month. [*The conclusion is missing.*] (*Copy.*)

REVETT WALWYN AT BROACH TO THE SAME, JULY [ ], 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 164).

Steps taken to repair the damage to the cloth and to preserve the saltpetre bales from getting wet. Samples sent of the various kinds of Agra cloth. Desires instructions for dealing with the rest, as the washers are now at liberty. Mr. [ ] left yesterday for Ahmadābād. (*Copy.*)

George Tash and Hugh Fenn at Ahmadābād to the Same, July [ ], 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 181).

Acknowledge the receipt of letters from Surat dated the 14th and 24th current. [*Part illegible.*] Money remitted to the factors in Sind. 'The indico men have, according to the new custome, lately bought theire libertie to sell theire comoditie, for 250 rupees, which they must give our Governor as the proffite issued from what he bought from them, or (more truly) what he pretended to buy.' Have not yet commenced their investment, but learn that the price of the best sort is about 22 rupees the maund. Are endeavouring to induce the Governor to abolish 'the prejudiciall custome of weighing 40 s[ee]r net introduced by the Prince; but cannot yet prevayle with him for a dispensacion therein.' Forward a parwāna from the Governor 'for releasment of the horse you intend unto him'. Have heard nothing further about the business of the farmān. [*A page illegible.*] The question of caravan dues. Forward their accounts. Bills of exchange paid. Will shortly have to draw again on Surat. 'Our late Duan [*Dīwān*], Meir Moza, is appointed by his grand master to the same office in Malwau [i.e. Mālwā], whether he is prepareing.' (*Copy.*)

Edward Knipe, Richard Davidge, and William Jesson at Agra to the Same, July [ ], 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 197).

The broadcloth from Ahmadābād arrived on the 23rd current. Three of the bales have been damaged by wet. Blackwell, finding this place disagree with him, solicits leave to quit it. (*Copy.*)

Francis Hammersly at Agra to the President at Surat, August 4, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 205).

Expresses his acknowledgements for his appointment to take charge of this factory. Departure of Knipe. (*Copy. Original received August* 27.)

George Oxenden at Mokha to the President and Council at Surat, [August 5] 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 202).

[*The first part of the letter is so mutilated as to be unintelligible.*] Owing to their losses, very few merchants came this year from Jiddah, 'which is the subsistance of this port'. Oxenden's troubles were increased by the *Seahorse* putting into Aden on May 15, which necessitated the dispatch of Buckeridge thither. The enclosed list of prices will show 'the dullness and badness of these markets'; while Buckeridge writes from Aden that he has not sold 600 rials' worth of goods since his arrival, though he hopes for better success shortly. 'I have receaved pryvately from a Banian that came from Swakaim a letter from the Bashaw who came [t]here this yeare; the other is deceased. Many reports him [to be a] hard severe man and one that in his former gover[ment] hath beene very injurious to merchants. Others say hee is reformed and very desirous to encrease that trade.' His letter, promising to confirm the agreement made by his predecessor with [Cross], will be sent to Surat in the *Seahorse*. He has been told that the English will probably accept his invitation next year. [*Part illegible.*] Differences between the Dutch and the Governor, in consequence of which the latter stopped all intercourse between the shore and the shipping in the road. Thereupon the nākhudās of the Indian junks went on board the Dutch and begged the commander to leave the road until they had sailed for India. This he refused to do unless his man who had 'turned Moore' were surrendered. Thus matters remained until the end of July, when the Hollanders captured another vessel, belonging to 'Baloole'.[1] Till then all Oxenden's complaints to the Governor, regarding the non-receipt of any reply from 'the King', though the Company's goods were still lying at 'Taze', had proved ineffectual; but now he received at once a fair answer from the King, stating that he had written to the Governor to buy the goods. Negotiations as to the price are still proceeding. This happy conclusion is entirely due to the differences with the Dutch. [*The rest is illegible.*[2]] (*Copy.*)

[1] There is a Beilul Bay opposite Mokha, with a village some distance inland.

[2] The postscript, which is in a fragmentary state, evidently recounts the intelligence, received overland, that the Scots had surrendered King Charles to the Parliament.

George Tash and Hugh Fenn at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, August 11, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 196).

[*The commencement is missing.*] Desire early instructions. Were in great hopes of prevailing upon the Governor to disallow that prejudicial method of weighing indigo; but he has decided against them, for fear of suffering himself in the sale of his indigo leaf. [*Part illegible.*] An account for goods forwarded is annexed. (*Copy. Original received August* 14.)

John Spiller at Tatta to the Same, [August 12] 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 208).

[*First part illegible.*] The Shāhbandar, after making preparations to repair to Lahore, has suddenly changed his mind and has decided to remain here, on the excuse that the monsoon is so near that he cannot be spared. Money awaited from Ahmadābād. [*Rest illegible.*] (*Copy.*)

Thomas Winter and Christopher Yardley at Masulipatam to the Same, [August?] 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 208).

Lading of the *Antelope*. (*Copy.*)

Andrew Trumball, [aboard the *Falcon*] at Aden, to the President at Surat, August 17, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 226).

Gives a short account of the voyage from Swally to Mokha, and thence to this place. The ship is much in need of cables, rigging, and fresh sails. (*Copy. Original received September* 20.)

Revett Walwyn at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, August 18 (?), 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 198).

Progress made in the purchase of baftas, and the washing of the Agra, &c., cloth. (*Copy.*)

George Tash and Hugh Fenn at Ahmadābād to the Same, [August] 18, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 198).

Have sent on the Surat letters intended for Agra and Tatta,

enclosing in the latter bills of exchange for 5,000 rupees, as desired. Will forward the sixty bales of 'mercooles' to Baroda as soon as the weather clears. Have selected sufficient 'eckbarrees' to suffice for next year's provision of quilts and 'chints'. Purchase of piece-goods for Mokha. Are satisfied that the farmān referred only to imported goods, which are of small consequence in comparison with those exported; will take no further action at present. Trouble with the carters from Agra. [*Part illegible.*] As the Governor abetted the claimants, it was deemed advisable to pay, fearing lest he should otherwise in displeasure deprive them of part of the saltpetre. However, when they present him with the horse, they will try to recover some of the money. Regret that they are not likely to be able to fulfil the Company's desires as regards indigo. Will do their best; and to this end desire permission to manufacture 100 or 150 bales, as they did last year. Opened negotiations with the indigo merchants, but on finding that they demanded 24 rupees 'for the rurie' [*see* p. 31], it was thought better to wait and see whether some showers of rain would give assurance of a better crop and so abate the price. [*Part illegible.*] Purchase of piece-goods. As regards the Burhānpur route from Agra to Surat, report says 'it is a way not passable at this season, by reason of the many rivers; nor scarcely at any other time for carts, being soe rough and stony; besides which, the saltpeeter lying at Byanah must be transported back to Agra, which would as much advance the charge as the dutie here demanded comes to'. Will continue to accept any bills drawn at Biāna; and will also commend 'that broker' to the favourable notice of Mīr Mūsā before the departure of the latter. Provision of 'chints', quilts, and 'Dulkah dutties'; also of cotton yarn. Note the instructions for a second investment for B[antam ?], and will proceed accordingly. Dry ginger is scarce and dear; but a parcel could be obtained at 5½ rupees the maund. (*Copy. Original received* [*August*] 24.)

George Oxenden in Aden Road to the President and Council at Surat, August 19, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 218).

Encloses a transcript of his last, dated August 5 and sent by the Dutch *Leeuwerik*; also a list of the goods sold to the Governor of

Mokha for the use of the 'Emaum', with the former's written undertaking to pay for the same next monsoon. On August 11 Oxenden embarked [in the *Falcon*], leaving the rest of his stock to the care of two Indians, who are to be supervised by the Governor and Shāhbandar; this can easily be done, for everything sold in Mokha must be entered at the customhouse, for which 'enterage' a charge is made of one per cent., half being paid by the seller and half by the buyer. The ship sailed from Mokha on August 12 and two days later anchored off Aden, where Totty and Buckeridge came on board, with the news that, owing to the bad state of the market, they had not been able to get rid of any part of their stock. So, had not the goods at Ta'izz been sold to the Imām, the loss to the Company would have been immense, for no one also would have bought them, owing to their damaged condition, caused by their being transported on the backs of camels and thus rubbing against one another. The Dutch have unwittingly rendered the English a great service, for but for their differences with the town the Imām would never have taken these goods, when better could have been had at 40 per cent. less. Oxenden landed at Aden in the afternoon of his arrival, and was kindly entertained by the Governor; and next day the Shāhbandar came to the English house, accompanied by certain merchants, to whom Oxenden sold all the 'dungarries' and 'mustaphees'. Refers to Buckeridge for particulars. Has transferred the rest of the *Falcon's* cargo to the *Seahorse*. It would have been useless to leave these goods at Mokha, 'it being credably reported that these countrys are sufficiently stored, not only with cannikeens but all sorts of comodities in generall, for this five yeares'; and so it seemed best to return them to Surat. Sends certain accounts; the books he will bring with him. Has received a letter from 'Benidas' by a Rājāpur junk. [*Portion illegible.*] As, however, the ship's tackle is in a bad state, it has been decided to make for 'Purcatt'. [*Portion illegible.*] Complains of the indiscreet proceedings of Totty, who threatened the nākhudās here that he would capture their vessels at sea unless they bought passes from him. The master of a small Malabar junk in the road refused to comply with this demand; whereupon Totty declared before the Governor that he would seize upon her. The Governor desired him to do nothing of the kind while the junk

was in the road, though he might do what he pleased at sea. Totty then weighed anchor and cruised about, coming in and out of the road at his pleasure and shooting off guns 'in diffiance'. Some of the shot went over the house of the Governor, who thereupon threatened to imprison Buckeridge and seize the Company's goods. To Buckeridge's remonstrances Totty returned defiant answers. All the town was in arms; and when Totty sent a boat ashore, it was detained until the Malabar junk had got out to sea. One result of these troubles was that the merchants sent down by the 'King' to buy goods turned back and went to Mokha instead, to the great loss of the Company. Refers to Buckeridge for further particulars of Totty's misdoings. A sealed bag of cash sent in the *Seahorse*; also certain accounts. (*Copy. Original received September* 20.)

REVETT WALWYN AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, AUGUST 23, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 202).

(*Copy. This letter is so much damaged that it is practically illegible.*)

EDWARD THOMPSON, [ABOARD THE *RUTH*] AT GOA, TO THE SAME, AUGUST 26, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 236).

Has received their letter of July, 1647, and considered it *solus cum solo*, since they regard some of his consultations as pernicious and dangerous. That two of the said council, viz. 'Coutanceau[1]' and Butler, formerly served the Company is true; but as for Clinch the chirurgeon, he never had a vote at any consultation held aboard the *Ruth*. Knows nothing about the past behaviour of the former two, but his intentions are so just that he is not likely to listen to any advice that is mischievous. As for William Hicks, he is a man of desperate fortune, and his attempt to 'possess you with vaine feares is not out of any honest respects to the old Company but from a greedy desire hee hath to keepe the estate hee is now possest of; which if kept or suffered will bee a greate loss, both to my imployers, myselfe, and Company'. Hicks only obtained

[1] Probably the Jacob Cottenshaw of the 1637–41 volume.

employment by promising to 'effect strang unknowne of things' in India. On Thompson's arrival, he sent Hicks and Pittmeer to sell his goods at Rāybāg; but, when they reached that place, they wrote that they could not possibly dispose of their stock in time to save the monsoon, and advised him to make a voyage to Persia, promising to have a cargo ready for him on his return. This promise was not carried out. On learning that Thompson was dangerously sick, Hicks came down to Rājāpur, hoping to take possession of the ship. Foiled in this, he returned to Rāybāg, protesting his intention of sending down the necessary lading. 'A small quantity hee sent, but as a baite only to gaine from me the proceede of my Persian voyadge.' Thompson refused then to part with anything; whereupon 'they dallied with mee till the time was soe farr spent that it was impossible to gett of the Coast, being the 25th of May before I recovered Marmagon[1]'. They excused themselves on the ground that Mustafa Khān had seized their effects in satisfaction of Courteen's debts; but this is denied by Mustafa Khān, and Thompson is convinced that it is 'the sole knavery of Hicks', who is keeping the goods 'to meynteine the extreame royatt hee now lives in'. Intends no damage, either to the Company or to the people of India; he merely means to follow the Company's example in seizing junks until his goods are restored. 'I hate nothing more then the name of a pyratt: therefore I desire you would well consider before you proceede against mee as pyratticall.' Not for all the riches of India would he lose his reputation as an honest man. *Annexed:* Thompson's answer on behalf of himself and his employers, 'Mr. Morris Thompson and Company', to the protest sent him. He has nothing to do with Courteen's pretensions 'to the title of the New East India Company'. As regards the latter's debts, Thompson made inquiry before landing any goods, and was assured that they did not exceed 1,600*l.*; and it was also pointed out to him that neither Blackman in the *William* nor Brookhaven in the *Lioness* had had 'one penny of there cargazon diminished' on this account. It is utterly false that the factors in Rāybāg or elsewhere have been imprisoned, or that Thompson's goods have been lawfully seized. 'If you thinke it just to stopp five thousand for sixteene hundred pounds, may it

[1] Marmagao, on the southern side of Goa harbour.

soone bee your case'. His sole object in seizing Indian vessels is to secure the return of his own goods, and he is confident that no harm will result to the Company. If the President and Council hinder him or persist in treating him as a pirate, he will require satisfaction from them and their employers for the loss of his return lading. (*Copy. Original received September 26.*)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, August 27, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 206).

Are now dispatching the 'mercoolees' to Baroda. [*Part illegible.*] Troubles over the saltpetre, half of which has been seized by the Governor. In the hope of securing more favourable treatment, Tash presented him with the letter received from Surat for that purpose; whereupon he 'like a most exquisite villaine, was further pleased to increase our dishonnour and vexacion by taxinge him with forgerie; and to the bussiness of saltpeetre replied wee might weigh what was our owne; 1,500 rupees wee had in Malpor desburst, and to that amount wee should have and noe more; utteringe with great passion that it was insufferable we should buy oup all the goods in the country, and that his occasion for saltpeetre was more urgent then ours'. This he has done in spite of the fact that he had publicly given them permission to buy 5,000 maunds, and had recently 'contented himselfe with a bribe of 280 rupees'. However, they renewed their efforts, enlisting the aid of 'some of his favorits'; and he now promises more favourable usage. 'The Dutch are in somewhat worse predicament and will, wee verylie beleive, have theire saltpeeter taken from them.' If so, it may possibly be acquired at a reasonable rate. [*Part illegible.*] The Governor's underlings are as bad as he. Annex particulars of way charges. Have forwarded the Surat letters intended for Agra and Tatta. *PS.*—The way charges referred to. (*Copy. Original received September 2.*)

John Spiller at Tatta to the Same, September 8, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 245).

On August 14 he received a letter from Ahmadābād with bills of exchange for 7,000 rupees. Part of the money was obtained before it

was actually due and was sent up country by boat on the 20th. The boat expected from Kandiāro has not yet arrived. It seems that Scrivener was waiting for the return of the other one from this place, in order to clear them both together 'at that troublesome Ghaat'; but the second boat had been sent to Nasarpur to fetch a lading, and afterwards was kept here awaiting the money from Ahmadābād. Hopes shortly to hear from Scrivener, for it is 'high time the washers had the cloth in there hands'; probably it will now have to be sent by land on camels, 'for the Suttaner River[1] is much dryed away already.' On August 20 a few lines from Garry announced the death of Gilbert Harrison from fever, after six days' illness; his loss is much regretted, 'in regard of his good abearance and faire comportment whilst hee lived amoungst us.' He made no will, but desired Garry verbally to see a tomb erected over him, and to give his dagger and most of his 'Hiendoostane' clothes to his servant, a 'Hiendooe'. 'The former I understand lately that Mr. Gary is about, beeing (it should seeme) the cheife men in Nasserpore desired that hee might lye there sepulized; to which I have condiscended (seeing they affoarded him soe much favour and us credditt as to accompany, and some of them carry, him to his grave, which is in the cheife burying place about Naserpore), or else would have removed him hither.' Nothing will be done as to the disposal of his effects until instructions come from Surat, but it is hoped that the wishes of the deceased will be respected. On August 30 an express brought letters from Ahmadābād and Surat. Spiller notes the instructions for the purchase of indigo. The price has been lately enhanced in Sann, &c., 'by the goeing thither of the dyers of this place'; but he hopes to procure some at about the same rate as last year. 'What the dyers will doe with there indico I know not, nor why they should bee soe eager for it; for now in this place is little or noe cloath dyed, nor much yarne (which is used in stuffs); but it may bee they have hopes that blew cloath sold well at Mocha, soe that at returne of the Princes vessell the merchants will make good quantities thereof; which vessell is much lookt for, and her now [non?] arrivall makes these poore merchants not a little to wonder; who have received newes from Muskaat that there are but two vessells come to that port of the three which

[1] Apparently one of the long-vanished branches of the Indus.

before was noe tydings of; soe she that is wanting is an old frigatt of the Princes, whose safety is much doubted. In this citty is noe salpeter made. What wee formerly bought was made in out townes, but most in those adjacent about Naserpore, whence it was brought hither.' Now that the English have a residence in that place Spiller has ordered the saltpetre to be received there; but Garry fears that he shall do but little good with the makers. He wished to send them to Tatta, but Spiller has ordered the contrary, to avoid loss of time and to save the merchants from being troubled by the exactions of the local governors. The chief time of making saltpetre is now approaching. Money is needed; but he trusts that remittances will be made from Ahmadābād without the necessity of his writing for them, which would mean much loss of time. 'Moogull Ckaun [Mughal Khān], our new Governour, is much expected heere; and, if hee makes noe more hast then hither[to] hee hath, I feare much of the cuntry will goe to ruine now the water is falne, which before much hindered the hill robbers from doeing mischeife in the plaines. Him I perceive you intend to vissite; which if you doe, it will questionless much faciletate and further our affaires in this place.' The merchants here are beginning to buy piece-goods again, having heard that these have sold at good prices in Persia, especially 'adputaes or lackees', 'bhengales', 'meanaes', and 'saboonees'. Denies the allegations of Heynes that the goods received from this place were ill made and dear bought. 'It is knowne that all sorts which have silke in them are at best but a thinne slight stuffe'; and he questions whether the Persia factors have sufficient experience to tell 'when a peece thereof be made to its height of goodness or noe'. As a matter of fact, these cloths were 'far better then the generall make'; and, this being so, the price was naturally higher. It will be found, however, on reference to the books that Spiller paid no more than was given in former years. Possibly a few pieces were of a lower grade, for often 'in buying three or four corge of a man hee will much importune to have a peece or two, not altogether soe good as the rest, to bee accepted and lett pass (hee allowing therefore), being they are forced to receive [them] soe from the weavers'; but this would not warrant the factors in making such complaints. Spiller could provide a large quantity of goods for Persia if the markets there

were answerable, and if the broker at Gombroon could be trusted. The merchants here, however, allege that he secretly disposes of the Company's goods to himself at his own price; and this explains why they do not sell as well as other merchants', though they are much better in quality. Desires particulars of the prices realized by the Sind piece-goods in Persia. Has written to Tash for 5,000 rupees, in case he is unable to take up money here. Is sorry that the Ahmadābād factors find him so troublesome in this respect, but money he must have. Denies that he has failed to keep them informed of the payment of their bills of exchange. The prospects of the cloth investment at Kandiāro have improved, and he hopes to receive 600 corge from thence. On the other hand, at Nasarpur, 'by reason of the sickness in that place (scarce a weaver well) wee have lost many cor[ge of] cloth'. Moreover, now that the weavers are better, they find a good market for the common cloth which they prefer to make; so that but little of the better quality can be got. However, Garry, who has been ill, is now 'soe well recovered that hee can sitt in the bazar againe', and has lately sent down a quantity of cloth; it is hoped, therefore, that he will be able to procure almost as much as is required. Particulars of the investment in Tatta itself. Has written to Kandiāro for the 'browne cloth' desired for Surat, as most of that kind here available is already whited; however, if he cannot procure any 'browne', he will send instead 'soe much whyte cloth, which will take coullour better then browne, the rice stiffning being washt out; only here it will cost somewhat dearer.' Has acquainted Scrivener with what has been written concerning him. 'With our Shabunder wee shall doe well enough about freighting of shipps, intending to serve him in his owne kinde, giving him a parcell of faire words and many promises, untill you shall see better what may bee done herein with more security; for that the Portugalls will stirr in opposing it, tis most certaine, for the subsistance of Muskaat depends wholly one the trade of this citty, by forceing such high customes from these merchants; for of other incomes I cannot understand that it hath much.' Notes that the 'Synda cloathing' is approved at home, particularly that of full dimensions, which he imagines means those provided at Nasarpur; has therefore written to Garry to buy as many as possible. The request for indigo has been passed on to

'Sevestaune'; had it come earlier, they could have procured 50 bales, both good and cheap, but now they 'somewhat doubt, being the first cropp is bought up, which is alwayes the best.' Spiller has accordingly ordered some to be purchased in Kandiāro at moderate prices, 'in case Sevestaune faile.' The sample cloths which he gave out to be dyed have been done to his satisfaction; but the dyers will not take less than eight rupees per corge, 'they saying that, after they are dyed, it will stand them in two rupees in beating, slicking, &c.' The latter is the way in which the cloths prepared for the Portuguese were done, but probably the Company would be satisfied if they were beaten only. A further difficulty is that, while the Company want cloths 15 yards long, Spiller has none suitable of greater length than 12½, and these the 'cussumba[1] dyers (whose work it is)' insist on cutting in half, alleging that whole pieces consume too much dye and that 'the coullors will nor cannot bee soe good this way'. Desires instructions on the point. The dyed baftas are 'made up severall fashions, some the common and usuall way as white bafte[s] are; others in cowles'. Good stuffs are now very scarce here, their manufacture 'being much decayed, slight ones being heere generally bought up by these merchants, most of whom now cannot buy of either for want of money; which these weavers perceiveing, and alsoe what losses they had received, left the citty to try theire fortunes abroad'. He is confident, however, that he will succeed in getting 'those that are good'. Has made up a few bales, but cannot get them 'skinned', owing to the scarcity of 'raw buffela hides'. As soon as they are ready he will send them to the port, as the river is drying up fast. (*Copy. Original received September* 29.)

REVETT WALWYN AT BROACH TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, SEPTEMBER 14 (?), 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 209).

Arrived here from Baroda on the 12th. Narrates his proceedings at that place and here. (*Copy.*)

[1] *Kusumbha,* or safflower, the flowers of which yield a red dye.

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the Same, September 14, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 210).

[*First part wanting.*] Provision of indigo. The Dutch, resenting an attempt to extort money from them, have now broken off their bargain for saltpetre, contenting themselves with the 700 maunds for which they had already paid in 'Malpore'. This will cause them trouble, besides drawing on them the Governor's displeasure. The saltpetre is now offered to the English, and the factors would be glad to be authorized to purchase it. Sugar is scarce and dear, the Governor's tyranny having deterred the merchants from bringing any down. Instructions desired as to buying more cotton yarn. Goods for Bantam. The washing of cloth has been hindered by want of water in the river. [*Part illegible.*] Isaiah Joyce returns thanks for the favour shown him, and will endeavour to deserve it. (*Copy. Original received September* 18.)

William Hicks, Walter Littleton, Thomas Gough, and Abraham Aldington at Rāybāg to the Same, September 15, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 257).

Have certain news that Thompson is providing himself with 'friggatts', &c., for the taking of junks and the plundering of small coast towns; and that, if he cannot prevail here, he means to lie at the mouth of the Red Sea and capture 'the Magull junckes' and any others he may light upon. If this be not prevented, it 'will cost us our lives and Your Worships much trouble'; and so they implore that something may be done. Thompson will be found between Dābhol and Kārwār, 'if you shalbe pleased to send strenght to quench this fire.' The factor at Rājāpur, Mr. 'Demasters', will give them every assistance; but Lloyd, at Kārwār, favours Thompson, although he pretends otherwise. At present they are indebted here 10,720 'pagodas greate', though the debt is much lessened by the goods that have been seized from them, belonging to 'Alderman Andrews and Company'. The debt is at interest at 13½ per cent., 'which deeply eateth'; and they therefore beg assistance to wipe off their indebtedness, and so either go home 'or else serve you, if soe you shall bee pleased'. Courteen has charged

them to persist in demanding the repayment of the money saved in the wreck of the *William* and made over to the Company's servants at Madraspatam; this sum would set them free, if the President and Council would be good enough to pay it. Will write again shortly. The Mokha junks belonging to Rājāpur have now returned, and so have escaped Thompson. *PS.*—Forward a letter addressed by Thompson to the Governor of this place. (*Copy. Original received September* 30.)

Henry Benn, aboard the *Hind* [at Swally], to the President at Surat, September 18, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 218).

Anchored here this afternoon. Left Bantam on July 20. Of their crew of forty, two are dead and many sick or weak. Was delayed by a storm off Sanjān. Account of the cargo. A cable much needed. (*Copy.*)

Revett Walwyn at Broach to the President and Council at Surat, September 20, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 227).

Fears that the Dutch will greatly impede his operations, as they have orders to buy a considerable quantity of cloth, and prices are rising accordingly. Details his own proceedings, here and at Ankleswar. Hopes to procure more cloth next month, 'it being the Moores Rammazan [1], when likely they sitt (?) closer to worke then at other times, by reason they feast not soe often.' Has forwarded the letter intended for 'Cassidas' [Kāsī Dās]. *PS.*—'Beeves' [i.e. oxen] cost here $7\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 rupees each, and would then be inferior to those previously bought. Advises recourse to some cheaper place. (*Copy.*)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the Same, September 23, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 242).

The Governor has taken over from the Dutch their saltpetre, repaying them what they had disbursed thereon. Note the instructions from Surat to contract privately for it; but the 'Borahs'

[1] Hind. *ramazān*, the Muhammadan month of fasting.

[*see* p. 127] are jointly engaged with the Dutch in the business and from them only the 'utmost opposition' is to be expected; while there are no other dealers in the commodity with whom it would be possible to make a private arrangement. As ordered, they will refrain from all public buying of saltpetre until further directions reach them. It is said that the Dutch mean to make a further offer at a higher price. Intend to draw on Surat for 10,000 rupees. There are various rumours of the impending removal of the Governor; it is hoped that the King's arrival at 'Dilly' will be followed by such a change. Have been busy with the indigo investment at Sarkhej, and doubt not soon to make up their purchases to the 400 bales required. Cannot yet conclude the bargain for the 100 bales of Agra indigo, as the owner is standing out for a better price. The Governor lately sent a second parwāna to Mīrzā Alī Akbar, 'requiring the release of his horse', and so they expect his demand will now be complied with. Sent 7,000 rupees to Tatta on July 22, and a further 5,000 on August 15; have now, in conformity with orders from Surat, forwarded 3,000 more to complete the investment. *PS.*—As the exchange runs high, they have not yet taken up any bills. The drought between Merta and 'Seroy[1]' has made the ways impassable; so it is feared that the caravan from Agra will have more trouble than usual. (*Copy. Original received September* 29.)

THOMAS STEVENS, ABOARD THE *EAGLE* IN SWALLY ROAD, TO THE SAME, [SEPTEMBER] 24, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 229).

His ship, after leaving Swally on January 4, 1646, passed Johanna on the 27th ditto, and anchored on February 25 in 'Table Bay', where she stayed fifteen days, waiting in vain for the *Mary*. On March 24 they sighted St. Helena, where lay eight Dutch ships bound for Europe; but, owing to the currents and a fresh wind off shore, the *Eagle* was unable to get in and so was forced to proceed to Ascension. There they stayed one night 'and tooke 22 greate turkles, which proved as good refreshing for our men as soe many beeves'; and then on April 2 they departed. They arrived in the

[1] Sirohi, in Rajputana, 20 miles north-east of Abu. Merta is in Jodhpur State, about 65 miles north-east of the capital.

Downs on May 26, without having lost more than one man, who died at the Cape. With regard to their present voyage, the *Eagle* and *Blessing* reached the Downs on March 28 [1647]; but, having orders to see the *Mary* out of the Channel, they did not get away until April 19, only to be driven back into the Downs by a storm. On April 27, they sailed again, losing sight of England on May 3. The Canaries were passed on the 22nd, and on June 19 they crossed the Line. Cape Agulhas was sighted on July 27, and Madagascar on August 8. Eight days later they reached Johanna, where they found a letter written by Grimes, announcing that he had lost his passage to India the previous year: that Robert Tindall had left this place for the Coast on April [*should be* May] 27: and that Grimes himself was departing for Surat on August 10. Nothing was heard of John or Thomas Proud [*see* p. 131]: so possibly they too have missed the monsoon, and have therefore gone to Bantam. Hopes that the *Eagle* will be enabled to start on her return voyage before Christmas. Regrets that he is not so well furnished as before with stores and provisions for the use of the factory. The ship is in want of ropes, and her stock of food is low. The Company provisioned her only for fourteen months for the double voyage, and at first allowed only ninety men; while in the Downs this number was increased to a hundred, but there are so many youths and boys among them that the vessel was never worse manned. (*Copy. Original received September* 25.)

William Broadbent, aboard the *Blessing* [in Swally Road] to the President at Surat, September 24, 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 232).

Narrates the outward voyage of the two ships. The *Mary* left them on May 28. Next day they sighted Cape Verd, and a consultation was held, at which it was decided that, as the time of year was late, they should separate, meeting again at Johanna; but there was little or no difference in their rates of sailing, and they did not part until after crossing the Line on June 19. Twenty-seven days later they met again, and have ever since kept company. They left Johanna on August 27. He is keeping the Company's packet until the President comes down to the Marine. (*Copy. Original received September* 25.)

William Hicks, Walter Littleton, Thomas Gough, and Abraham Aldington at Rāybāg to the President and Council at Surat, September 24, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 265).

The enclosed letters from Kārwār show that no admonishment will produce any effect on Thompson. If in consequence of his proceedings they lose their lives, they beg that 'you would bee pleased to give timely notice to the Parliament, that such actions may have their rewarde'. Would be glad to receive any letters that may have arrived from Europe for them. (*Copy. Original received October* 11.)

Gilbert Grimes [aboard the *Greyhound*] in Swally Road to the President at Surat, September 26, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 234).

Rejoices to announce his arrival. Encloses a copy of a letter he sent from Johanna by the *Farewell* [*see* p. 131]. (*Copy. Original received same day.*)

[John Spiller at Tatta] to the President and Council at Surat [September 30?], 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 266).

Since writing on the 8th present, he has received by way of Ahmadābād a further letter from Surat, to which he now replies. As regards the future provision of piece-goods, it will not do to trust much to Nasarpur, for it is too near Tatta. 'Besides, those weavers are a company of base rougues, for, notwithstanding wee give them mony aforehand [ ] part of the yeare, and that in the time of there greatest want, yet, if any pedling cloth merchant comes to buy, they leave us and worke for him, though hee gives noe money aforehande; beeing the ordinary base make is more facill and easy to weave then ours, with which they must take some paines.' It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to continue the investment in Kandiāro, in order to keep the Nasarpur weavers up to the mark. Cannot understand the Company's complaint that the Kandiāro cloth is only 12 yards long. All that he has measured here is longer than that; so he thinks some mistake has been made. [*The rest is wanting.*] (*Copy.*)

John Adler at Swally Marine to the President at Surat, September 31 (*sic*), 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 259).

Gives an account of arrack delivered to the various ships. *PS.*—Begs that orders may be issued for provisioning the *Seahorse* for her voyage. (*Copy. Original received October* 1.)

George Tash, Hugh Fenn, and Anthony Smith at Ahmadābād to the President and Council at Surat, October 4, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 260).

The quantity of indigo available was so small that, although there has been no competition either from the Dutch or from the dyers, they found it very difficult to complete their 100 bales of the round sort; 'and before wee have finished 250 of the rury [*see* p. 31], wee assure ourselves wee shall not leave 100 maunds of that might bee worth our owneing unbought.' 'Although wee finde not a proportionable difference betweene the fineness of it and the flatt to equall the price, yett the cleaness of the round, which is voyde of all sand sticking to it, tis of greater moment then wee could have possibly imagined, and causeth a difference of weight of neare four seare in a maund; which deceipt the indico makers practized to there benifitt, laying the flatt sorte upon sand wett,[1] which sticking to it is soe fastened by the sunes drying it as that it remaines at weighing.' As soon as the price of indigo leaf is brisk, they will be in a position to calculate the cost of manufacture; but they dare not promise 'to make of the flatt sorte, pure and good, for 20 rupees, since the leafe is saide to bee shorte in quantitie', compared with last year. 'Our chints and tappichindaes, which were the most considerable parte of our Bantam investment, were delivered to the workemen soe seasonably that they were all returned painted before the raines; soe that there was as then nothing wanting unto them but washing, which might have beene performed in eight daies time (they being to that purpose returned

[1] Finch (*Purchas*, vol. i. p. 430), describing the manufacture of indigo at Biāna in 1610, says that it was 'spread on cloth, to dry in the sunne; and beeing a little hardened, they take it in their hands and, making small balls, lay them on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke up the colour): this is the cause of the sandy foot.'

to them upon cessation of the raines), but our Governor not suffering them to worke in the river hath beene an exceeding impediment to the bussines, whilst the chinters have neglected there worke to attend upon the durbbar and sollicite redress, which for consideracion of 250 rupees was once granted to them; to the payment whereof they had noe sooner consented then our base, unjust, and worthless Governor raysed the summe to a 1000.' They are, notwithstanding, confident that these goods will be at Rānder by November 5; though probably the investment for next season will be much delayed. The Dutch are in a like predicament, having in their house vast quantities of cloth which they had intended to make into 'chints', &c. If the 'chinters' either compound with the Governor or agree to work at 'Mummadavad[1]', the factors will do their best to keep ahead of the Dutch, in order that their goods may be brought to market earlier. Have now no chests worth sending down, as those that were formerly available, being wormeaten, have been used for firewood or other purposes. Note the goods returned from Mokha. From the specimens of 'puttolaes' sent, they now understand how what the Bantam factors call 'puttola gobars[2]' should be made; but the workmen here, in consideration of the unusual breadth, demand a third more than is paid for the ordinary kind; so, unless they will reduce their rates, inquiry will be made at Cambay or 'Pattan[3]'. Are surprised to learn that their cotton yarn scarcely equals that bought at Surat for price and goodness; will endeavour 'to receive it better then the musters; otherwise the way charges and Barroch customes will render it to deare to give content unto our honourable employers'. Enumerate the sums they have remitted to Tatta, to show that the factors there complain without reason of their backwardness to supply the necessary funds. *PS.*—Have just heard that indigo leaf has much fallen in price, 'by reason of the fayleing of most of the makers'; so that now 45 seers are offered for a rupee, as against 32½ and 33 last year. This they conceive will much further their

[1] Mehmadābād, 17 miles south of Ahmadābād.

[2] Malay *gebar*, commonly applied to a sheet of coarse white cloth, but also used as an adjective to imply an extra large size of other kinds of piece-goods. Saris (*Purchas*, vol. i, p. 391) says 'a Goober is double and containeth twelve yards'.

[3] Pātan, in Baroda State, about 60 miles north-west of Ahmadābād. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* it still manufactures '*patolas* (variegated sārīs)'.

proposal to make a good quantity, perhaps as much as is likely to be needed for next year's return. The quicksilver merchants here offer to buy all that may arrive this year at higher rates than 'your Surrat bazar'. (*Copy. Original received October* 9.)

President Breton and Messrs. Merry, Fitch, and Pearce at Surat to the Company, October 7, 1647 (*O.C.* 2045).

The Company's letter of December 23, 1646 (with transcript of one dated September 18) arrived here on August 6, having been brought to the Coast by the *Farewell* on July 2; and their subsequent letters of March 31, sent by the *Eagle* and *Blessing*, came to hand September 25, when those two ships anchored in Swally Hole, followed the next day by the *Greyhound*. For an account of the voyages of these vessels, they refer to the commanders' letters, sent herewith. The *Hind* arrived from Bantam on September 18; and two days later the *Seahorse* came in from Aden, having brought back part of her cargo—'a sufficient testimony of dead marketts, both there and at Mocho'. The late arrival of the *Antelope* and the non-appearance of the *Greyhound* made it impossible to send those two vessels back to England, as ordered, last season; and in any case such a course was out of the question, owing to the difficulty of procuring the necessary cargoes in time. Now, however, they have a good stock of saltpetre &c. in hand, and hope to dispatch both those ships and the *Eagle* some time in December, 'if Capt. Thompson, commander of the *Ruth*, who hath resolved to reprize the Decan jouncks for some meanes of his attached by those merchants for sattisfaction of Mr. Courteens debts, disturbe not our trade in those parts.' They are expecting pepper and cardamoms from thence, and without these goods they will not be able to fill the three vessels; so they have sent a protest to Thompson, and are now dispatching the *Blessing* to Rājāpur 'to pry into his actions'. She is to proceed thence to 'Mirchee[1] and soe downe as low as Batticola' [Bhatkal], to buy pepper and cardamoms, for which purpose her commander, William Broadbent, has been furnished with a sum of money, and a broker has been sent to assist him. Oxenden has gone in the *Falcon* from Mokha to

[1] Mirjān, in North Kanara, about 20 miles north of Honāwar. See the account of it given by Fryer (Crooke's edition, vol. i. p. 150).

Cape Comorin and those parts to procure pepper and cinnamon; 'but of the latter we can enterteine but litle hopes, the Vice Roy haveing exceedeing strictly inhibited the sale of that commodity, whereof lately they can procure but very litle for themselves.' The *Antelope* left Gombroon on April 25 and reached the Coast June 7. The Masulipatam factors promise to dispatch her by September 10. The *Endeavour* and *Francis* sailed on April 18 for the Coast, 'full laden with rice, which arrived very seasonably to supply Fort St. George; and what they had not occassion to use sold at great rates.' From thence the former departed for Pegu about the end of September. Now that the *Farewell* has arrived, it is presumed that the Coast factors will send the *Francis* to Bantam. The *Supply* has gone to Achin and Johore. 'The Dutch, we know not uppon what pretence, not only refuseing to give passes to any jouncks for that port, but have published their resolucions, both here, at the Coast, and other places where their people are resident, to intercept all such shipping as they shall encounter bound thither; but therein we hope their greatnes will exclude us, who as litle respect their threats as themselves.' Indigo continues very scarce and dear. Captain Thompson has intimated his intention of sailing for England about the middle of this month. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

THOMAS IVY AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE SAME, OCTOBER 9, 1647 (*O. C.* 2046).

The Company's letter of April 6, 1646, was received from Bantam by the pinnace *Advice* on May 5 last, together with the coral and broadcloth consigned to this Coast in the *William* and the *Ulysses*. Cannot dispose of the coral, owing to war and a cruel famine which has now lasted two years. Half the people in this kingdom are dead. No goods will sell, except a little broadcloth for the use of the soldiers. 'How violent the famine hath bine here tis not to bee credited, for out of the towne of Madraspatam died in five months time 4,000 people; out of Pullicatte 15,000 in as little tyme; and out of St. Th[ome] no less then out of Pullicatte; so that heere is not above $\frac{1}{3}$ of the weavers, painters, and wasshers liveinge of what were formerly.' This has made cloth 15 per cent. dearer than formerly, and little can be procured even at those prices; while European goods are quite unvendible.

Disposal of the money brought by the *Advice*. On May 22 the *Endeavour* and *Francis* arrived from Surat with rice, to their great relief; both vessels were then sent to Armagon 'and a litle to the northward thereof', to fetch rice for the relief of the inhabitants of Madraspatam, and the freight thus earned has defrayed the charges of both ships while on the Coast. On June 7 the *Antelope* came in from Gombroon, and two days later was sent on to Masulipatam with the money she brought, to be there invested for Persia. She was ordered to return at once to this place with a lading of rice; but the factors were unable in fifty days to procure more than a fourth of the quantity required, and at last time would not permit of the voyage being made before the date on which the vessel was to leave Masulipatam for Surat. On July 2 the *Farewell* anchored here, bringing the Company's letters and some treasure, 'but not one dropp refreshing in this time of missery, when the least would have bine very acceptable and comfortable unto us, to have washed our heavie harts from the stench of the dead carcazees that lieth most fearefully to beehould in all places that wee goe, as well as the noise of the dyeing people, which can bee noe less terrours to the herers thereof.' Now reply to the Company's letter of December 23, 1646. Rejoice to learn that, the Persian and Bantam markets having been fully stocked with Coast 'clothing', a quantity has at last found its way to England and there yielded 'contentable proffitt'. This year they cannot supply either Bantam or the Company, for want of means, owing to the fact that they have nearly 50,000 rials of eight locked up in their coral, 'which is as dead at present as the dead mens bones that lyeth about our towne.' Deny that they ever solicited the Surat President to send them a vessel for a voyage to Persia. For seven years he has never failed to dispatch to them a ship and means to be invested for that country; 'but never induced by us, but rather opposed.' Know nothing as to the profit made on the *Falcon's* voyage thither, as they simply invested the money sent for that purpose from Surat and she never returned to this coast. So far from borrowing that money at dear rates (as is asserted in the Company's letter), their books have been cleared of any such obligations 'ever since our first arrivall'. Moreover, the *Falcon* did not carry any cloth, either of the Bantam stock or on the writers'

account. Defend their action in buying the cloth tendered to them by 'Molay, the Kings cheif agent, and by the Kings seveare order and command unto us'. Had they refused to accept these goods in satisfaction of advances made to the merchants, probably the money would have been lost entirely, and then the factors would equally have been blamed. 'Soe wee knowe not when wee doe well or ill. Therefore wee beseech the Company, to prevent the like in the future, to send out their orders in all degrees, such as the Dutch hath extent in all their factories, from there Christ cross to their Anperse-and[1]; and questionless wee should indeavour to observe the same as well as they doe.' Had they not taken this cloth, they would have had none to send either to England or to Bantam; and then they would have been laughed at as Cogan was, 'when hee was frighted from Portanova from 400 pieces [of] longcloth hee bought there, by a scare crowe, because they said twas the Hollanders cloth[2]'. However, the dispute is now settled. 'Molay, by many letters of solicitation from the Hollanders Generall of Jaccatra [i.e. Batavia] to Molay, is returned againe to Pullicatte and receaved by the Governor with great honnour and respect, and hath justified the sellinge of the goods to us, and our neighbours of Pullicatte as lovinge and seeminge freinds to us as ever formerly hath bine.' Ivy is willing (since the Company desires it) to remain here some time beyond his covenanted term. Thomas Winter has been appointed from Bantam to succeed to the post of Agent on Ivy's departure; but, learning that the Company proposes to send out some one to fill the post, he is now discouraged and has applied for permission to proceed to Bantam in the *Advice*. This, however, could not be granted, owing to the small number of factors at present available. Ivy himself intends to go to Bantam in the *Farewell* next May, leaving Winter in charge. If the latter will not accept the post, then Gurney must officiate. Of the stock brought out by the *Farewell*, amounting to 45,932 rials of eight, the gold yielded 13½ per cent. profit and the rials 7 per cent. loss. The *Endeavour*

[1] The Christ-cross was the pious sign placed at the beginning of the alphabet in the old horn-books; while the Ampersand (i.e. the character &) came at the end. The phrase is equivalent, therefore, to our modern 'from A to Z'

[2] See the previous volume, p. 38.

left Masulipatam for Pegu on September 15, with a stock of 20,836 rials of eight; the *Antelope* sailed thence for Surat four days later, with a cargo invoiced at 28,908 rials; and the *Advice* is now on her departure for Bantam. The *Francis* is being trimmed at 'Emaldee' [*see the* 1637–41 *volume*, p. 314], and is intended for dispatch to Bantam next February. Richard Hudson was sent to 'Bengalah' last July in the *Farewell* with 6,000 rials of eight to buy cotton goods and rice. The rest of their stock will be invested in the cargo to be sent to Bantam next May. Have managed to provide for Europe a stock of excellent cloth, though at somewhat dear rates, as it was all bought at Madraspatam, where the famine has raised prices considerably as compared with Masulipatam, which is outside the famine area. There are now only nine factors on the Coast, viz. Ivy, Gurney, and Martin Bradgate here: Thomas Winter, Christopher Yardley, Thomas Chambers, and Edward Winter at Masulipatam and Vīravāsaram; and Richard Hudson and William Netlam in Bengal. As Ivy will be leaving next May, and Thomas Winter desires to return to England, his covenanted time being expired, it will be necessary to recruit the staff with four or six able and honest men. They have only thirty-three soldiers here, and desire that the number be made up to fifty. Enclose a list of the garrison [*missing*]. 'Wee had allmost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 rials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the Coast at his goinge to Bantam was lent us by the King of Gulcondah[s] Gennerall, who hath almost conquer'd this kingdome and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob [*see* p. 70]. This 16,000 rials hee lent us for one twelve months gratis; which debt wee discharged at the arrivall of the *Farewell*. So, in requitall of the Annabobs curtezie, wee gave him one of the two brass guns you sent out by the *Mary*, which hee would not bee denied of, whither hee had lent us this money or no; otherwise hee would not have confirmed our old privilidges formerlye graunted us by the now fledd Jentue King. So upon the deliveringe of this gunn hee gave it us here under his hand that hee received the gunn in full and contentable sattisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month, and never hereafter would desire any thing elce for the same; and withall confirm'd under the King of

Gulcondah[s] great seale all our former privilidges in ample manner, as it was graunted unto us by the foresaid fledd Jentue King. Soe by this meanes the gun hath saved you three tymes the vallue of it, by accomplishing too good acts at once.' The indigo now sent was bought before the receipt of the Company's orders not to purchase any more of that commodity. The foregoing lines were prepared for dispatch by way of Bantam in the *Advice*, which was expected from Masulipatam by October 5; but on October 7 the *Antelope* touched here [on her way to Surat] and brought news that the *Advice* could not arrive before the end of the month ('which is the daingerous time of all the yeare for fowle wether in this place') and that it was even uncertain whether she would come at all. Winter and Thomas Alison (master of the *Advice*) are to blame for this. She was sent to Masulipatam on July 4 to mend a small defect in her rudder and then to bring back a quantity of rice, which would have made 100 per cent. profit; yet she was dispatched on August 10 without anything being done to the rudder, and the result was that before she had gone five leagues it dropped from her stern, and she was forced to return to Masulipatam. Her lading was then put on board the *Antelope*, which brought it here, as aforesaid; but now rice is much lower in price, owing to a quantity having recently arrived and to good rains having fallen. In view of the uncertainty of the arrival of the *Advice*, a quantity of cloth for Europe has been laden in the *Antelope*, which is now resuming her voyage for Surat. A consignment of saltpetre was placed on board the *Advice* before her departure; they can supply 100 tons annually. Forward their accounts, inventories, &c. *PS.*—Cannot send the promised statement of their 'quick stocke', owing to the non-arrival of the Masulipatam accounts. Just as they were dispatching the *Antelope*, the *Advice* arrived. Hope to dispeed her to Bantam within three days. *Enclosure*: List of Europe goods sent in the *Antelope*, and of those brought by the *Advice* from Masulipatam. (*Copy*, *received at Bantam per the* Advice *November* 26. 14½ *pp.*)

Gilbert Grimes, aboard the *Greyhound* [at Swally], to the President at Surat, October 11, 1647 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. cii a, p. 264).

His men are grumbling because they cannot get money to buy clothes. Adler has the means, if the President will sanction the payment. Is pushing on preparations for his voyage. (*Copy.*)

John Adler at Swally Marine to the Same, October 11, 1647 (*Ibid.*, p. 265).

The *Seahorse* anchored this morning outside the bar. Grimes intends to beach his vessel on Wednesday, and therefore desires instructions as to the disposal of his broadcloth and coral. (*Copy.*)

Philip Wylde at Achin to [the President and Council at Surat], November 5, 1647 (*O.C.* 2047).

On May 27 the *Supply* arrived, bringing orders to him to make trial of the markets at 'Jahore, Pearack, &c.' He thereupon applied to the Queen here for licence to trade at Perak, pointing out that the Dutch had a settled residence there; but 'from Hir Majesty it was answered the Dutch had no such licence, and that, if we traded thither, the proffitt that hir subjects yearely received would be little.' The desired permission was therefore absolutely refused, and on June 18 Wylde departed in the *Supply* for Johore. Malacca was reached on July 13. Wylde paid a visit to the Governor, who received him with much courtesy; but it was thought best to depart without notice on the 15th, fearing the Dutch might demand customs on the ship's cargo. On July 27 the *Supply* anchored at the mouth of Johore River. The broker was sent up to the King, who 'returned his boate and one of his people, with courteous expressions desireing me to bring the ship to his towne; but, unwilling to adventure hir thither till I was acquainted with the people, the 30th ditto I accompanied the messenger to His Majesty, presenting your letters with a present; which after perusuall I was dismissed. The next day following, he demanded my desires; when I answered it was your request to have free trade in all his parts and dominions, not paying customes; which he and his orankayes at first seemed to admire [i.e. wonder] my demands

were so large on so small accquaintance. His answere was for this yeare our ship off goods was custome free, but in the future not to be expected; and that I had licence to build warehouses and unlade my goods if I pleased. After certaine daies His Majestie sent messengers to make a contract how much money I would give him yearely upon a ship for trade; when I drew severall articles and promised him 100 taile [*tael*, the Chinese ounce of silver]; which after he had taken into consideracion, and consulted with his orankayes [*see the preceding volume*, p. 212] (who commands as much as himselfe), it was concluded to be dangerous to lett the English have any residence in his country, by reason they deny the priviledge to the Duch, which might cause warrs, to the dequiteing of his wonted quiet liveing. Therefore there answere was to me: whereas the King had promised custom free for this yeare, it was granted, but should not have any residence in his country longer then the ship stayed, and that should not trade to any part of his kingdome but in Jahore; and so, if you would condecend to paying the following duties and customes, you might have trade, vizt., to pay 5 per cent. off all goods brought thither for sale; to pay 6 masse Acheene on each bahar pepper bought; to pay 10 masse per bahar on tynn; to pay 104 tale lungargow[1], or anchoridge, on each ship you send thither.' His being thus crossed in his designs Wylde attributes to the skipper, &c., of Hājī Zāhid Beg's vessel, 'in hopes to have all the trade to themselves; who paid not any custome the last yeare and have libberty to trade to all his ports. They were invited thither by the King from Mollacco, and therefore the more favoured.' These Gujarātīs had sold all their goods and had bought up everything obtainable. Prices of the chief commodities, viz., tin, pepper, 'aggula[2]', and elephants' teeth. 'Aggula' is the principal product here. These goods come from 'Phaung', 'Comper', 'Boolaung', and 'Keelaun',[3] the first-named being 'the greatest place of importance'. List of cotton, &c., goods vendible in Johore. Wylde found the market glutted with Gujarāt cloth, and could sell no more than eight bales. Finding

[1] *Langar* is Persian for an anchor.

[2] Port. *aguila*, eagle-wood, also called lignum-aloes. It was used for incense.

[3] Pahang, Kampar (Sumatra), Bulang (an island south of Singapore), and Kelang (Salangor).

no hope of a speedy improvement, and being anxious to get back to Achin in time to build a new warehouse there, he left Johore on August 28, after receiving from the King a reply to the President's letter. The ship sailed from the river's mouth on September 2, and on the 8th anchored near Malacca, owing to contrary winds. Two days later a Dutch ship was met, the captain of which demanded that the *Supply* should go back to Malacca; but this Wylde refused to do, unless the Dutch would undertake to make good any loss that might be caused to the Company by the resulting delay. To this they would not agree; so the voyage was resumed and the vessel reached Achin in safety on September 30. For what had happened there in his absence, Wylde refers to Reynardson's letter. He hopes soon to give in person a fuller narrative of his experiences. (*Copy.* $3\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

Thomas Reynardson and John Parmiter at Achin to [the President and Council at Surat], November 5, 1647 (*O.C.* 2048).

The *Supply* sent to Johore. On June 28 one of Courteen's ships,[1] which was lying in this road, seized two Surat junks and threatened to carry them away unless a certain sum was paid. Thereupon the Company's factors were imprisoned until they agreed to find the money. Later, upon complaint to the Queen, she ordered Courteen's factor, William Cock, to repay the amount; and this has to a great extent been done. Among other things a fine diamond has been accepted at less than half its cost in England. 'The 26th July here arrived three Dutch ships, which brought an embassador to this place, who demanded of the Queene the whole trade of Tecoo, Pryman, Andrapare, and Perack,[2] and that no Moores nor any other vessells should trade there besides the Queenes vessells; which she utterly denyed, and onely granted them 1,200 bahar of pepper yearely from the West Coast, custome free.' Although last year Wylde was granted remission of customs, this year the factors have been repeatedly troubled with demands

[1] The *Friendship*. For the correspondence on this subject between the two sets of factors see *O.C.* 2038–2044.

[2] Tiku, Priaman, Indrapura, and Perak.

of that nature. It is evidently useless to trust to promises, and the only way is to get every concession signed by the Queen, 'as we have done for the clearcing ourselves, in case of any nations ceazeing any vessells belonging to this place.' Markets here are so bad that scarcely any of the Company's goods have been sold. Particulars of the return cargo. It is credibly reported that the Dutch have stopped the Perak fleet; 'if true, this place is quite spoyled', for there will then be no hope of either money or goods. One of their house servants has poisoned himself; he had been detected in stealing goods and feared punishment. Little or nothing should be sent here next year. Disposal of freight goods brought by the *Supply*. Reasons for not sending any in her now. At Wylde's request, they certify that he has cleared his accounts in this place. He intends to go home at once, and Reynardson desires leave to follow him next year. Have put on board some rattans, the owner of which has not been traced. Goods sent belonging to the estates of Downs and Scattergood. Money advanced to Wylde for sea provisions. (*Copy.* 2¼ *pp.*)

[John Spiller at Tatta] to the Same, [November —] 1647 (*Factory Records*, *Surat*, vol. cii A, p. 268).

Answers theirs of September 13, received on October 25. His arrival from Kandiāro was advised in his letter of September 30. Has only been able to procure 330 corge of cloth from that place: Thanks them for their encouragement to continue serving the Company here. Cannot get any offers for the lead. Will do his best to obtain from the saltpetre men what they owe. 'These Tahtah merchants were about a moneth since very hott in buying cloath both in Nusserpore and Khodearah; but not as yet any shipp arriving from Conggo, Bossorah, or any other parts hath well quelled them. But that that most affrights them is report of a great French shipp seeing (*sic*) lying about Muscatt, which, report sayes, tooke a small vessell lading (*sic*) with coho [coffee] and bound for Bossora. The coho they took out of her and then lett her and her men goe. This prementioned shipp is said to be a very great one and to have 80 gunns and 3 or 400 men in her. That the *Seahorse* is not yet arrived is much admired by all, and I hartily wishe her well and that she may arrive in safetye; as doe all these merchants,

for by her they expect most of theire mony. Heare hath for these 4 or 5 dayes been a great noise of two shipps seen before this barr, riding in 20 fadoms of water and sometimes nearer, and their gunns heard to goe of very often; but nobody knowes what they are, nor dare the pilotts goe aboard. I have sent a man to Bundar, yf possible to learne what they are; and when I know the truth you shall be made acquainted therwith.' His Nasarpur cloth has been packed and sent down to the port; and he is now doing the same with that from Kandiāro. [*The rest is missing.*] (*Copy.*)

Samuel Wilton at Gombroon to [the President and Council at Surat], December 9, 1647 (*O.C.* 2051).

Answers their letter of November 5, received by the Dutch *Juffrouw*. Heynes died three days ago. Encloses a list of prices and 'the just length of a covitt shaw[1]'. Explains why certain coins were recently sent. Agrees that the broker here is untrustworthy. Notes the orders for the punctual dispatch of ships and for hiring the factory house by the year only; a grant of it might have been obtained when the last present was given to the King, but now the matter must be put off till next year. Cannot at present answer about the freighting of one of the Company's vessels to Jiddah by a native merchant, as the latter is still at Lar. Will try to procure samples of silk from merchants, but it will be necessary to give a bribe to the Wazīr of Ispahān. Lewis wrote on November [ ] that he would be leaving that city in a few days, having stayed some time to collect a debt. Mahmūd Taqī, who has been appointed Shāhbandar here, is father-in-law of the son of the Sultān of Ispahān; so there is likely to be 'a great affinitie betweene a couple of knaves'. If the former is the man who was Shāhbandar four or five years ago, 'an archer theefe cannot be found in this Kings dominions. This shotter[2] departed Spahan the 19th ultimo; and six daies after the King was to goe a hunting with the Indian embassador. His unparralleld nett, carryed by 60 or 70 camells, was sent out, and 36,000 men appointed for the manageing that and surrounding the mountaines. From thence the Indian embassador sett forward for India, not retourning back for Spahan. The

[1] *Shāhī*, royal. Fryer says that 'the King's cobit consists of inches 36'.

[2] Apparently a messenger mounted on a camel (Pers. *shutur*) is meant.

Pollonia [i.e. Polish] embassador likewise is gone, having received a pisca[s]h of 35 tomands and one bale [of] silke, and as much uppon his retinew. While hee is in the country, he is to be furnished with 60 horses or mules and 30 abacees per day.' Requests a supply of rice, butter, lamp oil, and candles, as these articles are now very dear. For butter they used to pay from 6 to 8 shāhīs per Tabrīz maund, but now it costs 11 or 12; while the price of candles has risen from 17 or 18 to 26 shāhīs. *PS.*—Heynes left no will. (*Copy.* 3 *pp.*)

[THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT BANTAM, DECEMBER —, 1647] (*O.C.* 1963).[1]

. . . Will supply the piece-goods desired. As the Company's business now stands, there is little encouragement to revive the Manilla trade. Have rectified a mistake in their books regarding the last consignment of calicoes. Deficiency in the pepper received from Bantam by the *Hart.* Send some rosewater, and promise a further quantity. 'Wee take notice in your severall letters of your extraordinary want of meanes and shipping; the former of which putts us in minde of our owne sadd condicion. But of shipping we have too many, considering the times at present, which are soe badd that we can neither finde employment for them upon fraighting voyages nor dare lade them for the Company; both Persia, Bussora, and Mocho being so overcloyed that the last yeares goods were sold to loss. But that which most prejudiceth our fraughts, both the last and this year, is the number of great Dutch shipps which attend that employment, whereof here are noe less then six in Swally Hole at present, which soe farr exceede our small pinnaces, both for security and accommodacion that' [*part missing*] . . . Padre Alexander Rodes[2] arrived on the *Hind* in

[1] This consists only of two fragments of the letter. The date is inferred from the contents.

[2] This was the celebrated Jesuit Father Alexandre de Rhodes, who was now returning to Europe after twenty-five years' labour in the East. In his narrative of his experiences (1653) he relates his voyage from Macassar in an English ship to Bantam; his courteous reception there by President Baker; his departure for Surat, where he found an equally warm welcome from Breton; and his subsequent voyage, early in 1648, in an English ship to Gombroon, whence he proceeded overland by way of Ispahān and Tabrīz to Smyrna, and so to Italy.

safety; but the other Portuguese passenger, Francisco de Cirpa [1], died in the voyage, and his goods have been forwarded to the Padres at Damān, for transmission to Goa. Private trade found in the *Hind*. The goods now sent in her are for the account of the Fourth Joint Stock. Arrival of the *Eagle* and *Blessing*, which left the Downs on April 28. The *Mary* [bound for Bantam] accompanied them as far as Cape Verd. The cargoes they brought amounted to 52,674*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* On the 2nd ultimo the pinnace *Lanneret* arrived from Basra and Gombroon, 'with the accustomed complaints of bad marketts.' She brought from Basra, in money and goods, 30,446 rials of eight, and from Gombroon 449,403 shāhīs. On October 10 the *Blessing* was dispatched to Rājāpur, Goa, and Bhatkal, with orders to buy at the last-named place pepper, or, failing that, arrack, coir, and cowries. The 12th ultimo the *Lanneret* sailed for Rājāpur with money and goods to pay what is owing at Rāybāg. She returned with some pepper on the 1st current, and was followed two days later by the *Blessing*. On the 4th the *Falcon* arrived from Cape Comorin and Cochin. Goods received from Agra, &c. . . . (4 *pp.* *Damaged.*)

Richard Hudson's Account of Events at Balasore, December 26, 1647 (*O.C.* 2056).

On their first arrival they were well received; but a change was soon brought about by the appearance of a Danish fleet of five vessels, which seized a Moorish ship containing eight elephants. At the entreaty of Malik Beg [the Governor?], the English went twice to the Danes to intercede for the release of the junk, but could not prevail; whereupon the Moors told them that, as the Danes and English were alike Christians, any damage done by the former would have to be satisfied by the latter. Thus matters remained until October 10. In the interim arrived a letter from the Nawāb, brought by a captain and 500 horse. The English were required to meet the missive four or five miles out of town, but refused to do so, on the ground that this was a new custom; and thereupon it was brought to their house. It proved to contain 'an imperious command for our stay'. The factors refused to obey, and their

[1] Rhodes calls him François Serpa, and mentions his death during the voyage.

vessel 'fell a litle lower', as if to depart. On this being perceived, 'some 1,000 souldiers were called from the adjacent places, and suddainly they made a mudd wall and planted nine great gunns (in interim of our talkeing); and that night they made three shott at us and spoild some of our fore riggins. The next day they plant[ed] other two gunns to play on our bowe, and other two in the Nabobs jounck in the dock, and other three pieces by the Princes ship, all which in less then 300 foote of our ship. Perceiveing this, and that there was noe hopes to gett downe (nor could without the helpe of boates, which was denied), we resolved to stay longer, and would have carryed our ship to a more convenient birth (because there was noe probability of getting downe, for they had stackt [i. e. staked] the river in six or seven places and sunck three or four boates, and six or eight mallangees [1] boates filled with wood, straw, and such combustible stuff, to fire us), if it had been possible for us to have gotten past their fortification; but were prevented by 10 or 14 shott from the shoare and shipps in the dock, with 200 small shott and many arrowes. The tyde being spent and the wind blowing fresh at N. E., we were compeld to fall downe to the first birth, where we roade till one or two of the clock without shooteing; when it seemes [be]cause of our sufferrences they esteemd us their owne, and like a flock of tygers with open mouthes they came upon us, fireing the *Freindships* bancksall [i. e. warehouse] and heaveing dust at us. At last our patience could hold no longer. We addrest our selves to our gunns, and for three or four howres we made warme worke; and truly I conceive each was glad to be at quiett. The Dutch have escaped noe better, for their busines was altogeather stopt till the 6th [?] or 7th December, when they also enjoyed licence, or rather forct it by landing 60 men and ten pieces [of] ordinance, which they mounted on their howse and banksall [2], keepeing one of their three ships they had in Piplee alwaies to scower the river, goeing downe with the ebb and up with the flood.' This attack was entirely unprovoked, 'as under their hands I can shew.' (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

[1] Hind. *malanjī*, a salt-maker.

[2] See *Dagh-Register*, 1647-48, p. 38.

President Breton at Surat to [the Company], December [ ], 1647 (*O. C.* 2057).

Renews the appeal he made last year for permission to return to England, and also craves their favour in the following matter. The Persian silk ordered in their latest letter cannot be provided in time for the present fleet; and therefore he ventures to send for sale on his own account ten loads which he bought several months ago through an Armenian merchant. He would not have meddled with this commodity but for the fact that the Company had not desired any for a long time; and he conceives that he is doing some service by enabling them to try the market by this means. The said silk forms 'the whole import and entyre hopes of my future subsistance', and he begs that it may be sold on his account and the proceeds delivered to his brother, William Breton, 'minister att Clapton in Northamptonshire'.[1] ($1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

List of the Company's Servants in the Surat Presidency (*O.C.* 2070).[2]

At Surat: Francis Breton (President), 350*l.*; Thomas Merry, 300*l.*; Andrew Baines, minister, 50*l.*; Richard Fitch, 50*l.*; Edward Pearce, 60*l.*; Thomas Breton, 25*l.*; Anthony Clitherow, 60*l.*; Thomas Andrews, 30*l.*; John Goodyear, 20*l.*; John Parmiter, 20*l.*; Henry Young, 18*l.*; Walter Gollofer, 18*l.*; John Adler, 18*l.*; and Thomas Cook, 35*l.* *Also* Daniel Elder, 'intended for Suratt', 70*l.* *At Agra*: Edward Knipe, 200*l.*; Francis Hammersly, 80*l.*; Richard Davidge, 110*l.*; William Jesson, 80*l.*; John Burnell, 30*l.*; Joshua Blackwell, 20*l.* *At Ahmadābād*: George Tash, 100*l.*; Hugh Fenn, 110*l.*; Anthony Smith, 60*l.*; Isaiah Joyce, 12*l.* *In 'Synda'*: John Spiller, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Henry Garry, 80*l.*; Nicholas Scrivener, 30*l.*; Gilbert Harrison, 20*l.* *In Persia*: Robert Heynes, 25*l.*; John Lewis, 30*l.*; Samuel Wilton, 20*l.*; Thomas Best, 24*l.*

[1] The Company permitted the silk to be sold, but declined to pay over to Breton's brother more than half the proceeds, reserving the rest until investigations had been made into the President's private trade (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, pp. 282, 297, &c.).

[2] Endorsed as 'presented in Court', March 8, 1648. The list was therefore prepared at home, and this accounts for the appearance in it of several factors who were in fact dead by that date. The Committees were at the time discussing what reductions were possible, both in factories and factors (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 261).

At Mokha: George Oxenden, 35*l.*; Joseph Cross, 18*l.*; Nicholas Buckeridge, 6*l.*; Charles Milward, 15*l.*; John Broadbent, 6*l.*; Lawrence Cheny, 6*l.* *At Achin*: Philip Wylde, 70*l.*; Thomas Reynardson, 60*l.*; Francis Scattergood, 15*l.*; John Rose, 12*l.* *At Basra*: Robert Cranmer, 30*l.*; Revett Walwyn, 18*l.*; Thomas Cogan, 20*l.*; William Weale, 20*l.* *Total of salaries*: 2,619*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (3 *pp.*)

THOMAS BRETON, RICHARD POTTER, AND RICHARD KNIPE AT 'SIRIAN[1]' TO THE AGENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE, JANUARY 1, 1648 (*O.C.* 2058).

Their late departure from the Coast made it October 3 before they gained sight of this land, and then contrary currents retarded them to such a degree that they did not reach 'Sirian' until the 23rd. However, this late arrival they began to think too soon, 'when wee found the country standing distractedly amazed at the civill warr that then was in Ava (the metrapolis of this kingdome) betweene the King and his eldest sonn, not knowing which party to take, till it pleased God to give victory to the King by the slauter of his said sonn, who had determined his death; which was not beleived in Sirian till the middle of December, when there begun to be againe corrispondence betweene it and Ava, reviveing these merchants in theire bussines and animating us to proceed in the sayle of our goods; whereof such part as is allready disposed of will, by a list sent you, appeare to be at such proffitt as may give you good hopes of the voyage, till you shall consider the great customes, which will amount to neare 16½ per cent., and that required in spetia, with more strictnes then wee have ever seene in any other place: the hazard wee must run in trusting our goods seven moneths time to these merchants, that will not be dealt with on other tearmes: the difficulty to make our returnes good without loss, scarse faecible by any: and the exceeding charge which will come upon the ship by her resideing here soe long time as till wee have dispatched our bussines.' Had proposed to relieve this charge by sending the ship to the Coast with rice, but found that this could not be done without leave from the King, who is two months'

[1] Syriam, or Than-lyeng, six miles east of Rangoon, on the Pegu River. It was at that time a place of considerable trade.

journey from this place. Moreover, such a voyage would have been hazardous, in view of the present state of the crew. The master, chief mate, chirurgeon, and three of the best seamen have died, and others are sick, owing to the country being very 'unhealthfull'. Request a supply of sailors, and urge that Rickman, formerly chief mate, be dispatched to take charge of the vessel. At present she has been placed in dry dock for repairs, 'and that at more charge then thought of in this reported (but not truely) cheape country. The Kings letters few dayes since arrived, requireing our suddaine repaire to him. Wee are now beginning our two moneths pilgrimage to the place of his residence, where though wee shall endure a years more exile, yet are not in dispaire (if the country remaine quiett) to make the voyage worth the charge of its tryall.' Till further experience it cannot be determined 'whether the trade be worth the continuance'. *PS.*—They are leaving Knipe behind here to get in debts and keep account of the ship's expenditure. This letter is sent by the Dutch *Tevenapatam.* Request a supply (by Dutch conveyance) of butter, and a little sack and beer. (*Copy.* 1½ *pp.*)

THOMAS MERRY AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 3, 1648 (*O. C.* 2060).[1]

Reminds them of his previous applications and begs for a decision whether he is to remain in India or return home; 'which last wilbee most pleasing to mee, that have now outnombred 50 yeares, of which 11, compleate in March last,[2] have beene as contentedly as laboriously spent in your service.' Should no directions arrive, he trusts he will be pardoned if he returns next year or the year following, as he is unwilling to remain longer in a subordinate position. Moreover, his continuance is not to the Company's profit, owing to the enlarged salary they were pleased to bestow upon him.[3] Has done his best to earn the money, and 'the truth is your Accomptants paynes in India

[1] An incomplete copy forms *O.C.* 2059.

[2] This is an error, for the Court Minutes show that Merry was engaged in the spring of 1637.

[3] On March 3, 1640, the Court raised Merry's wages from 150*l.* to 300*l.* per annum (*Court Minutes*, 1640–43, p. 21).

(wheare, besides the carefull collection of thinges, all passages are written oftentymes over) is the greatest of all.' As regards matters here, he refers to the general letter, and will only deal with a topic in regard to which he has special experience, viz. 'your allmost lost trade of Persia, by meanes of soe longe discontinewance; and indeede a place scarce worth your thoughts as now it is, weare it not to uphould your deare purchased right to the moitie of customes; of which allthough you receive not the eighth part, nor are likely to bee better dealt withall whilst you will not bee perswaded to acquire them by other meanes then submission to a peaceable and solicitous compliance, which will work little with the corrupt mynisters of that Kinge; and yet to uphould the honour of your atcheevement wilbee necessary, and that must bee doon by a continewed residence in Persia.' Even the small amount now received for customs more than suffices to pay the expenses incurred; and this fact may induce the Company to continue and enlarge their operations in that country. Should their position at home be strengthened 'by encouragement from the Kinges Majestie and his High Court of Parliament', the trade of Persia (though less profitable than that of India) would certainly be worth developing. This should, however, be done gradually; and, if possible, leave should be obtained to buy silk of private merchants instead of being forced to deal with the King's ministers for it. The latter have been guilty of gross abuses and extortions; but their action in gradually forcing up the price to 50 tūmāns per load was partly due to the loss previously incurred by taking in exchange vast quantities of English goods, which deteriorated greatly before purchasers could be found. At such a price the profit on the silk is too small to make it worth the while of the English to buy. The Dutch are now endeavouring to procure liberty to deal with private merchants, and also exemption from export duties on the silk. The latter concession is not likely to be made; while, even if the former be granted, the King will probably levy a fresh duty on the Persian dealers equivalent to the amount of the customs dues. Doubtless the English will be able to obtain similar privileges to any that may be conceded to the Dutch; and, 'seeinge the trade of indico from theis parts is like to declyne yearly (by the quantities made in the Barbadoes &c.), in which comodity

a greate part of your stock hath beene involved for your returnes, that of Persian silk ought not to bee neglected.' A sufficient quantity can be obtained to take the place of the indigo; and, if the silk can be had at about 40 tūmāns per load, the profit will be at least as great. Urges that an attempt should be made to obtain the necessary concession from the King without waiting to see the result of the Hollanders' negotiations. In so doing, it will probably be necessary to offer to pay ready money instead of bartering English goods for the silk. Perhaps, in consideration of their purchasing 150 or 200 loads of the King's silk, permission may be obtained to buy a further quantity from private merchants, and to export this also duty-free. As regards the provision of the necessary means, the trade of Gombroon is now in a bad condition, owing to its being 'obstructed by the Grand Seigniors warrs and distempers in divers places, besides the infirme peace betweene the Persian and him'; otherwise it would have been easy to send thither sufficient Indian and English goods to furnish the required funds. However, part of the money might be raised in this way, and the rest procured in Ispahān by giving bills to merchants having remittances to make to Surat. Usually the exchange for this is merely 'money for money'. With regard to the transport of the silk to India, the difficulty is that the commodity is not ready in Ghilān until about the end of August; then its delivery at Ispahān and packing there will take six weeks; and six more must be allowed for transport to the coast. This leaves little time for bringing it to Surat before the start of the homeward-bound ships; means may, however, be found after a time of obviating the difficulty. Has completed his accounts to September 30 last, and his duties are now in abler hands. He will have enough to do this year in copying out 'divers thinges necessary to bee left beehinde mee in the factory', and at the end of that time he trusts to be allowed to go home. Requests that the amount of salary, &c., standing to his credit in London may be paid to William Methwold.[1] (6¼ *pp.*)

[1] This was done: see *Court Minutes*, 1644–49, pp. 286, 287.

Consultation held on Swally Marine by the President and Council, assisted by the Commanders of the Ships, January 4, 1648 (*O.C.* 2061).

James Emerson, quarter-master of the *Greyhound*, requests to be cleared from a foul aspersion cast upon him by Robert Bond, late cook of that vessel, concerning his conduct while on shore in Sind. The matter is inquired into and the charge declared to be baseless. Bond is thereupon sentenced to fall thrice from the yardarm and then to receive twenty lashes aboard the *Greyhound* and twenty more aboard the *Falcon*, in which he is now serving. (1½ *pp.*)

President Breton and Messrs. Merry, Knipe, Tash, and Pearce at Swally Marine to the Company, January 6, 1648 (*O.C.* 2062).

Wrote last on October 27 [7 ?]; since when they have received the Company's letter of April 23 [*not extant*], sent overland to Basra and brought thence by the *Lanneret*, which quitted that port on September 22, stayed ten days at Gombroon, and arrived here November 2. On receipt of the goods brought by the last ships, they at once ordered the investment of 20,000 rials of eight for Bantam; and they were prepared to furnish the Coast factors with a like sum, but 'the times are there soe altered by war and famine that we feare they will not well know how to invest what you remitted unto them upon the *Farewell*.' Note that indigo is still 'in meane esteeme' at home, and that the quantity to be provided must be reduced accordingly. Regret that the Company still suspects them of conniving at private trade. The enlargement of the *Eagle's* 'overlope' [*see* p. 12], which they are now accused of devising for that purpose, was first suggested by her officers, 'and by us thought to bee but necessary.' As for 'thos straing reports you have heard of the private trade driven here in India, wee should admire as much at the authers as they seemed to doe thereat, did you not acknowledg them to be straingers; and such indeed they appeare to be, who certainly were not well acquainted with thes times and trade here, at present soe bad that their is little encouragment for either private or publicque trade. Yet peradventer something may be done in Banians names, which we

cannot come to knowledg of; whilst you receave full freight for the same. But for goods privatly convayed on board and transported to your prejudice, wee dare boldly affirme their was neiver lesse since you traded into thes parts; nor are or shall any at all bee tollerated by us.' Have made inquiry regarding the drugs desired by the Company. Owing to the wars in China, no musk reached Goa from that country last year, with the result that it is now worth there 25 mahmūdīs the English ounce. A better sort is procurable in Agra for 5½ or 6 rupees per tolā, which (with exchange) would mean about 34 mahmūdīs per ounce. Bezoar stones cannot be got from Golconda (where the 'pagode' is now worth, exchange included, 4¾ rupees) under 33 and 36 mahmūdīs per ounce. Ambergris is so much in demand for export to Turkey that, if white and good, it cannot be bought under 10 or 12 rupees the tolā. At these rates, they imagine, the Company will do better to leave these commodities to private traders. To the Court's censures of them for not preventing the private trade carried in the *Eagle*, both outwards and homewards, they must submit with patience; but they wish to point out that, if the Company cannot hinder such abuses at home, the factors here may well be excused. While the ships are being laded, the President and Council are much too busy to superintend the work, and must entrust this duty to others; 'who, if English seamen, will not easily betray their owne sect; and if theis country people, five m[ahmūdī]s will at any time corrupt the most faithfull of them. . . . Besides, here are such swarmes of Banian brokers, ready to assist in covering and conveighinge away of private trade; who are also abetted and supported by this Governor and Customers, in respect of the benifitt they reape thereby, that it is a thing of noe small difficulty for us heere to worke a through reformation.' They will, however, do their best; and they trust that the Company will help by punishing exemplarily any one detected in such practices. Regret that their advices overland were so much delayed. Have already announced the return of their factors from Manilla. 'The Dutch, to recover their last yeares lost reputation there, have in March last sent thither 18 or 20 saile of ships, with which they vainly thretten the Spaniards totall destruction in thos parts, but of their successe wee yet heare noe news; but beleeve, if peace bee

confirmed betweene them in Europe, and that they with you obteyne a free trade thither, they will thereby sooner distroy the proffitable part of that commerce, and be a greater hinderance unto you then they have or can doe by their warrs.' Now pass on to answer the Company's letter of March 31 [*not extant*], brought by the *Eagle* and *Blessing*. From inquiries made at Goa, they conclude that their letter of January 9 [1646] has now reached the Company's hands. As already advised, they are not likely to be troubled further in the business of João da Maya Caldeira. In Persia the English have endeavoured to obtain the same concessions as the Dutch alleged had been made to them regarding the free purchasing and export of silk; but hitherto their efforts have proved of no avail. Believe that the Dutch will not really obtain their wishes except by force of arms; and indeed they themselves seem to be of that opinion and declare that they are only awaiting a positive refusal 'to commence new broyles'; for which purpose they now have eight ships on this coast, five of them at Swally. The price of silk is at present over 36 tūmāns per load (the price formerly mentioned); and if any is wanted in future, the only course will be either to contract with the King (as before) or to consent to pay customs on what they buy from private merchants. The latter would be the more advantageous, except that it would entail some loss of reputation and might lead to a demand for customs on other goods exported. Will therefore do nothing until instructions are received. They are still deprived by the Persians of their proper share of the Gombroon customs, but must submit with patience until the Company authorize stronger measures; at present 'what you receave may raither be tearmed a yearely allowance then a right of customes'. For the past year the amount paid them was 630 tūmāns. Trade at Gombroon, as in all other parts, has been very bad, particularly as regards pepper. They must take full responsibility for the dispatch of the *Falcon* from Fort St. George to Gombroon; they regret the ill success of the venture, but they acted for the best. Will not fail to dispeed shipping for England as early in the year as is practicable. Repeat their assurances that they in no way connive at private trade. The *Falcon* proves less profitable than was expected, owing to the fact that she cannot sail without 2½ or 3 feet of ballast in her hold, and

so 'shee looseth much in stowage'. The Dutch-built vessels, viz. the *Hind*, *Hart*, and *Seaflower*, do good service in plying between this place and Bantam, but they are continually needing repair. The recent death of Fitch, the General Purser, has delayed the perfecting of 'dead mens accompts'; send now as many as they have been able to clear up, including that of Walter Clark. Note that the adventurers in the General Stock have been satisfied for what was due to them in these parts. Since the Company will not permit the President and Council to take men out of the ships for service ashore, or to increase the wages of deserving men, they must act accordingly; but they trust that the appointments they have already made will be confirmed. Thus last year they re-engaged Whatmore and Griffin. The former has for some time served as master of the *Expedition* at 25*s.* per month; the latter is a chief mate at 30*s.* The salaries of Tash and Oxenden have also been raised to 140*l.* and 100*l.* respectively. The markets at Mokha and Basra continue in a bad state, 'thos trades being now become most despicable by the infinite quantity of goods annually transported thither and the small vend, cheifly attrebuted to the wars in Turkey; in soe much that, had not your restraint arrived, wee must either have totally forborne or reduced to a very small proportion (as we shall now doe) our investments for those parts; being indeed by the marketts wholly disanimated, great quantity of goods remaneing in both places and others returned which would not sell.' The *Falcon* reached Mokha seasonably; but the *Seahorse*, owing to the indiscretion of Totty (her master), got no further than Aden. Nicholas Buckeridge was sent thither to dispose of her cargo, but the markets proved so dull that most of the goods were brought back, as also a quantity from Mokha. Similarly, by the *Lanneret* the Basra factors returned pepper and calicoes, which must this year find vent at Mokha and Suakin. 'These discouragments have induced us to seeke out new imployment for your shipping in more remote parts, as Pegou and Johore . . . and if some of your former letters did not discourage us, by intimateing your pleasures to have your ships employed upon short voyages, we also stand very well inclined to vissett Camboja and thos adjacent cuntries, where, in regard of their difference with the Dutch, goods are said to vend at exterordinary rates. But herein also we might peradventer

offend your Bantam President, who would undoubtedly pretend to that jurisdiction.' Note what is said about the money sent out; 'as we perceave you have done of the Perou ryalls, which are heere now sould for noe more then 202¼ rupees per cent.; at which rate many thousands have bin and are dayly by thes merchants disposed of into the Kings mint; which it is not possible for us to regulate, the standard and weight of all coines being the same heere, in Ahmada[bad], Agra, and all the kingdome over; in the alteration whereof our sharoff, the mintmasters, nor any man what ever daires appeare without the Kings especiall order and warrant. Therefore, if the King of Spane have reduced the weight of ryalls from what it was anciently, and that you are loosers thereby, we hope you will not impute it to any neglect of ours, or imagine that it is possible for us to prescribe new rules to alter a thing soe ancient, so gennerall. But that you may not be injured in the weight they are sould by, it ever hath and shalbe our exceeding care. And whereas you say that our monie chaingers pick and cull out your ryalls and afterwards weigh them singly, please to take notice that, when a chest is opened, every bagg is first sorted, and when the severall ryalls are distinguished, they are exactly weighed by 22 ryalls at a drought; and if any thing bee found over weight (which seldome happens), it is allowed unto your accompt; and what appeares to be short in weight is supplyed by small weights; which every drought are laid by untill the bagg or 500 ryalls are weighed, when the want in weight is jointly poized together and allowed unto the buyers.' This is the general practice, and they consider it an equitable one. 'For gold, you say it is not procurable. If it were, we are of opinion it would turne you to better accompt then ryalls of eight.' Approve the Court's decision not to send any more lead until the price improves. 'Wee yet find a strong opposition to our desires therein since [the] arrivall of our present Governor, Allieckbar, who, haveing the passed yeare by faire perswasions prevailed with us to bring 320 piggs to this customehouse, there letts them lye, and will not be induced to give more then 7 m[ahmūdī]s per maund, which is 1½ m[ahmūdī]s lesse then we sold to his predecessor, Mirza Amyna; att which rate we are resolved (though you have already and will yet loose the interest) not to part with it, in regard it would decline the price for ever; but will

raither export it againe and send it to Rojapore.' Broadcloth is now in greater demand at Agra; so they will send thither a good part of that now received, together with knives, &c. They still find great difficulty in disposing of coral, owing to the quantities brought by the Portuguese. John Boyer, who was sent to Bantam to convey letters and Cheloan's estate to Manilla, had not got further than the former place when the *Supply* arrived from the latter; he was therefore stopped, and the letters, &c., are being forwarded by way of Macassar. They are now satisfied that the Company's Husband was not responsible for the deficiency in the stores sent out by the *Eagle* in her former voyage. Have been unable to do anything in the matter of 'Raw Ruttans debt', owing to the King's long absence from Agra; but, as he is at present returning either to that city or to Delhi, they will renew their attempts to effect a settlement. Mr. Isaacson is now at Fort St. George, 'whither hee was sent in hopes hee might have wrought some reformation amongst thos deboist soldiars; but wee beleeve hee is of too mylde a disposition to worke upon such rugged natures; for which cause, or some other reasons knowne to himselfe, hee earnestly desires to leave the place.' They suggest, therefore, that he be allowed to succeed Baines in Surat. Are glad that the goods sent home in the *Eagle* gave satisfaction. Regret that some of the bales were found deficient; if in such cases the tickets of the bales be returned, they will hold the packer responsible. Will take care in future not to pack any cloth before it is thoroughly dry. As for Coast affairs, they refer to the factors' letters. Thank the Company for the brass weights, beams, and scales. Anthony Perry, having recovered his wits, was sent home by the *Dolphin*, but will not be fit for further service. His successor, William Edgcumbe, was also distracted for a time, owing to a knock on the head; he is now well again and goes home by these ships, having done very good service. Note that a smaller quantity of indigo is required, owing to the large stock on hand at home. Their experiment of refining saltpetre at Rāybāg was a failure; and, finding the cost excessive, they brought away the rest 'browne' and refined it at Swally. The cost of the lot worked out at 4¼ rupees the maund, which is much dearer than the saltpetre bought at Agra and Ahmadābād. Have therefore resumed their former

practice of buying at 'Malpore', having first obtained permission from the Governor of Ahmadābād to purchase 6,000 maunds. Part of the broadcloth will be sent to Persia, the proceeds to be returned in silk if the King will permit the free exportation of the latter; 'whereunto we feare hee will not be easily perswaded; and if the Dutch should bee able to enforce from him a grant for the same, it is not improbable but hee will lay such a tax upon the commodity in the hands of the seller that there wilbe little advanced thereby.' Now proceed to deal with the cargo received by the *Eagle*, *Blessing*, and *Greyhound*. The rials of eight (save the Peru variety) were sold at the usual rates. Report certain deficiencies in weight and number. The latter may be due to the bags being rotten; recommend covering them with leather to prevent this. The rix dollars fetched, as usual, 216 rupees 16 pice per hundred. Some false ones are now returned. The ducatoons were sold at 261 rupees per hundred. As the dollars were invoiced at 5*s*. and the ducatoons at 6*s*. 2*d*., the former are more profitable by 15¾ mahmūdīs per hundred. For the silver ingots the shroffs would only offer 69¾ pice per tolā, whereas last year they gave 71. Complaint was therefore made to the Governor, but no redress has been obtained; 'nor may any bee expected from a villaine who hath wholly ruined the trade of this place by oppressing and robbing men of all quallities, especially merchants, either directly by seazing upon their goods, or indirectly by sharing in the profitt of what ever bought or sold. And this is the reason that the sharroffs, who recken how much they have already paid, at severall times forced from them, and what will againe bee exacted, will not give more for the Perou ryalls or your plate [i. e. silver] then preadvised; wherein, in respect of his particuler benifitt, the Governor not only connyves at the sharroffs but supports them.' Intend therefore to send the silver and the Peru rials to Ahmadābād. In spite of his discourtesies, they have let the Governor have six ingots of the finest silver for the King's use; for these he paid one rupee per tolā. Disposal of the broadcloth to the various factories; a hundred pieces may be sent yearly. The coral received is warehoused at Swally Marine. The velvets, satins, and fine broadcloth brought in the *Eagle* and *Greyhound* will be useful for presents, and the surplus will sell at good rates. Thank the Company for the wine

and beer provided for their use; also for the chest of 'chirurgery'. The latter arrived in good condition, except that the 'ellectuaries[1]' were dried and decayed. Recommend that in future these should be packed in pewter pots, which shall be carefully returned. Have received the chest of writing materials, with the knives and the box of seed pearls. Request a larger supply of paper and quills. The quicksilver was very welcome, 'it being a riseing comodity and not any to bee sold in towne but yours.' When the ships arrived, it was worth 70 rupees per maund; now it has risen to 74, and they hope it will go higher still. Vermilion is likewise in request, at 75 rupees per maund. Advise the dispatch of a large quantity of each. For the prices of other commodities, they refer to the enclosed list. Nothing has been recovered of the debts made by Fremlen which are outstanding; and the Agra factors report that the debtors cannot be found. Take notice of the Company's directions regarding further supplies of cotton goods; and now advise what has been sent home by these ships, the *Eagle* (under Thomas Stevens), the *Antelope*[2] (under Thomas Proud), and the *Greyhound* (under Gilbert Grimes). For Sind baftas, the Company desire in future only 10,000 pieces, and the factors have been instructed accordingly. Rather more than double that number are now sent, partly of 'Nusserpore' and partly of 'Ckandiera' cloth. The former are of full dimensions, but the latter, for reasons formerly given, are only of the usual length; however, if in future the weavers will not agree to lengthen the pieces, the factors will procure 'Nusserpore' cloth instead. Particulars of the Surat, Nosārī, and Gandevī cloth sent. Of 'Deriabads' 20,000 pieces have been shipped. These, it is hoped, will give satisfaction, except perhaps as regards their 'cureing', which, in case of half of them, was done in Lucknow, where they were bought. Of the 'mercules' ('a cheape and excellent sort of cloth') some have been sent home unbleached, owing to their late arrival. Particulars of other cotton goods bought at Broach, Baroda, and Dholka. Could not procure any 'Kerribads' in time for this fleet. 'Guzees' have been ordered to be bought in 'Gocul and Hendowne[3], neare Agra'; and, if necessary, a further supply will be procured from

[1] Powdered drugs mixed with honey or syrup.

[2] For a certificate that the *Antelope* was fit for the voyage to England, see *O.C.* 2052.

[3] Gokul, in Muttra District; Hindaun, in Jaipur State.

Lucknow. Some are now forwarded; also a few 'seriaes', dimities, 'tapiceels', coloured baftas, and 'packing dutties'. 'Cosses Guldars, or other callico lawnes, we should not have sent you any, had wee not received three bales of the former from Agra'; these, not being at present vendible in Persia, are included in the present consignment, in spite of the Company's prohibition of such commodities. Forward also some 'ambertees' and 'byrams' from Agra. As the 'chints' and quilts formerly provided in Ahmadābād did not give satisfaction, they attempted to get some made in Burhānpur; but the 'painters' there would not undertake the work, and so those now sent have been procured from Ahmadābād. They have purchased a quantity of indigo in Agra and neighbourhood; but, in obedience to the Company's wishes, have only shipped 200 bales, reserving the rest for Persia, &c. For the future they have limited the factors to that number of bales, and have instructed them not to give more than 40 rupees per maund. Similarly, they now send only 200 bales of Ahmadābād indigo, and will dispose of the surplus elsewhere. 'This sorte of indico hath of late yeares bin soe adulterated that we have bin enforced to by the leafe and make part of it ourselves; by which meanes wee doubt not but it will issue pure and good.' They intend to continue this practice; and Tash, who has charge of the business, is confident that the cost will not exceed 19 or 19½ rupees the maund. Fifty bales of Sind indigo are also sent. The Court's wishes regarding Bengal silk were communicated to Agra, whence the accompanying three samples have now been received. The first, rated at 2½ rupees the double seer of 40 pice, is coarse, 'yet of an indifferent good sorte without side, but exceeding falce made up; wherein there arte discovers an old accustomed deceipt, which [it] is said they that deale therein are soe used unto that it cannot bee broken.' The second sort, rated at 4¾ rupees, looks good but is also (though in a less degree) falsely packed; while the third, at 7½ rupees, seems quite satisfactory, though possibly the price may be thought too high. Hope to forward a bale or two of each sort by the next fleet for trial. Possibly the cost would be less in future, as prices are said to be declining. Taffetas, such as the patterns forwarded, may be procured in Agra in large quantities, but must be bespoken, as the dimensions are unusual. The

weavers do not object to the breadths required, but refuse to make pieces more than '35 Agra covids long, which is exactly $\frac{8}{9}$ths of a yard, or 32 inches.' For these they demand $1\frac{7}{8}$ and 2 rupees per covid, if the quality is to be that of the Persian patterns, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, if 'of the goodnes of Agra taffates'. Inquire whether at these rates the Company's occasions would be served. Enclose patterns of the ordinary kinds of Agra taffetas. The seed pearls returned have been revalued, and are found to have been overrated before. Send a few 'catches' and 'Matchewarra baftes narrow'; also some longcloth and 'sallampores', mostly from the Coromandel Coast. To fill up the *Antelope* and *Greyhound*, they have rather exceeded the prescribed quantities of cotton yarn and sugar. They have also shipped a double proportion of shell-lac, but only a small quantity of seed-lac. Particulars of the myrrh, olibanum, 'tinckall', gumlac, cardamoms, and cinnamon. The latter is of two kinds, viz. Ceylon and 'Coylon[1] or falce cynamon'. Have strictly prohibited private trade in cowries, and now forward 300 maunds, bought in Cambay at 4 rupees $17\frac{1}{4}$ pice per maund. Also send some long pepper and cassia lignum received from Bantam and some benzoin from Achin. The box of amber brought on the *Eagle* has been forwarded to Goa. Will observe the directions given for winding up the affairs of the Fourth Joint Stock; but hope to be pardoned if they defer the sale of their ships. 'When we consider, first, what greate quantity of shipping these country merchants are already possesed of, and consequently, should wee tender yours to sale, though serviceable and good ships, how exceedingly they would bee undervallued; secondly, our present engagements, which cannot possibly bee soe extinguished, untill what you have abroad bee returned unto us, but that wee shall remaine deepely indebted; and lastly, how destructive a thing it would bee to your and the nations honnor in these parts, not to bee recovered againe in many yeares, though you should (as wee, notwithstanding your late disannimations, are yet full of hopes you will, derived from the encouragment you please to give us, and that ere long) revive your trade to a greater splendor then

[1] Quilon. On this Malabar cinnamon, see a note on p. 94 of the 1637–41 volume. It seems to have been sometimes termed Trambone cinnamon, from the Port. *trampão*, 'false'.

it hath yet in our times appeared in': these and many other reasons deter them from doing anything in the matter, at least until their debts are paid. Meanwhile, although the deadness of trade is a great hindrance, they will endeavour to earn as much freight as possible until the close of the monsoon, when the ships will be dispatched to Mokha, &c., to fetch away the Company's servants and goods at those places. The present state of trade will enable them to lessen their investments 'without any prejudice to your reputacions'. As regards reducing the number of factors, several have lately died, and, after deducting those who are now going home, the remaining establishment will be but a small one, as the accompanying list [*missing*] will show. Still, when those now abroad have been brought back, as many as can be spared will accompany the President to England. 'In the meanetime we shall endeavor to bring all busines to as neare a period as wee may; yet cannot see how it will bee possible (if you should soe resolve) to cleare all and leave the cuntry in soe short a time as you propound unto yourselves.' Will send overland an account of their 'quick stock'. Arrangements for lading the next fleet. If they should not need for this purpose all the saltpetre they have ordered, the rest can be sold at Macassar to the Spaniards. Have made known to the seamen and the returning factors the terms on which money may be remitted home through the Company's treasury here, 'with your inhibition not to encomber your ships with goods'; but so far nothing has resulted. Recoveries have been effected on behalf of Fremlen's estate to the amount of 955 rials of eight; and this sum, at 5*s.* 6*d.* per rial, should be paid to his executors. The Company have been misinformed regarding William Meakins[1]. He succeeded [Thomas] Chambers as purser of the *Falcon* when the latter was taken ashore at the Coast; and is a very civil, careful young man, deserving much more than his 8*s.* per month. However, he is now returned according to order. Knipe and Cranmer are likewise sent home. The former will no doubt be able to convince the Company of his good service; and they desire also to commend the latter, who, being 'in anno 1635 taken on shoare a youth', has

[1] His name is given as Makins in the Court Minutes of Oct. 4, 1648, when he was re-employed as a purser's mate.

risen to be chief at Basra, and well deserves re-employment, if he so desires. Knipe is accompanied by his two servants, Edward Gray and John Swinnerton. The latter, during his four years' stay in Agra, 'hath obteyned very good language and taken exterordinary paines in writeing.' He has had no wages, though he has been given a gratuity of 200 mahmūdīs to furnish himself for the voyage; he is therefore recommended to the bounty of the Company.[1] Thomas Park, who came out in the *John* and now returns, has been employed in Basra; he 'speakes the Arrab tongue and writes an indifferent faire hand'. William Lovell, who is also sent home, was taken on shore as a poor boy, to write for the carpenter, Bartholomew Austin, and to be taught his trade; but, being disinclined for such employment, has instead made himself a ready penman, 'hath some knowledg in accompts, speakes something of this language', and is 'a very civell youth'. Both he and Park are therefore commended to the Company's notice. Hugh Fenn, who has been recalled, takes his passage in the *Greyhound*. Messrs. Hill and Hunt, the other two ordered home, are dead, as advised last year. Since then 'God hath bin pleased to reduce our nomber by takeing out of this world Mr. Joseph Crosse, who dyed at Tage [Ta'izz], neare Mocha (whither hee went to make sale of some of your goods), the 31th December [1646]; and the 9th February following Lawrence Cheny in Mocha departed this life. At Nusserpore Gilbert Harrison deceased the 16th August; and at Acheene Francis Scattergood, John Boze[2], and Leonard Flint (the two latter seamen left there by the Queens commaund to keepe your howse, when Mr. Turner &c. came away from thence) are all deceased.' Enclose a list [*missing*] of those who have died aboard the ships. The bale of blue cotton yarn returned by the *Eagle* had been sent home in error, being intended for Basra. 'Heere fell the passed season not soe much raines as usuall, though sufficient to render all things plentifull in this place; but in some other parts of this kingdome there hath bin greate want thereof, especially betwixt Jalore and Adgmyer, about 150 course continuance in the usuall way betwixt Agra and Ahmada[bad]; which hath occasioned a famine, insoemuch that those parts are, either by

[1] He was given 20*l.* (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 297).

[2] This looks like an error for 'Rose', though the latter is described as a factor.

mortallity or peoples flight, become wholly depopulate and impassable; which induced Mr. Knipe with his caphilla (consisting of 84 carts), and all th'other merchants since arrived, to come a new way, which, though something shorter then the former, hath not, in respect of the dainger and troublesomenes thereof, being mountanous, and greate taxes paid in severall Rajayes countries, bin soe usually frequented. Yett hee passed quietly and without any molestacion or disturbance untill hee arrived within 70 corse of Ahmada[bad]; when, at a place called Burrkee Gatte[1], notwithstanding that Rajay Roul Ponja [Rājā Rāwal Punja] lent him 60 horsemen and 400 foote to convoy the caphilla dureing its continuance in his jurisdiction, was assaulted by one Inggadas, a notorious theefe, with 60 horsemen in armor and 2,000 foote; where, after a hott dispute, your servants and estate might in probability have suffered, had not the Almighty bin pleased, in the very nick of time, to bring into their assistance, sent by the Rajay of Ider, into whose cuntry they were then entering, about 100 horse and 200 foote, with which they repelled the ennimy. And soe, with the losse of four men on theirs and eleven of the adverce party, they brought away your goods in safety, all but two stragling carts, whereupon you lost one bale of Deriabads, four bales chints, one saltpeeter, seven sugar, and one of guzees; which [it] is thought fell not into those theeves hands that assalted them, but were robbed by Roule Pounjas people; soe that wee are in hopes either to recover restitution of or sattisfaction from them, and to that purpose wee have already procured the Governor of Ahmada[bad]s provana [*parwāna*] unto that Raja.' The cost of the caravan was very high. Knipe had to pay [tolls?] at the rate of 43½ rupees per cart, whereas formerly the charge was only 30 rupees; while from Swinnerton, who was behind with 218 camels, 'they exacted after the rate of 57 rupees per cart. Yet hee also escaped better then divers Mogull and Banian merchants who followed him; as also the Dutch, who, for a small caphilla, not conducted by any of their owne people, paid upwards of 65 rupees per cart. Soe that this will continue noe way for merchants to pass longer then necessity compells them thereunto.' Davidge has been appointed to succeed Knipe as chief at Agra. Punishment of William Reynolds,

[1] Probably Bhakrī, where the road from Pālanpur crosses the Saraswatī River.

a seaman, for attempting to run away with the *Hind's* boat.[1] Thomas Latimer, a smith, who has served here seven years at 14*s.* per month, also goes home, and is recommended to the Company's bounty. After the arrival of the last fleet, the *Blessing* was on October 10 sent down the coast to Rājāpur, Goa, 'Mirchee', and Bhatkal; and on the 25th of that month the *Greyhound,* after being trimmed, set sail for 'Tahtah', to fetch the goods awaiting shipment there. On November 11 the *Lanneret* was sent to Rājāpur, to carry thither some money and merchandise and to bring back any goods the *Blessing* might be unable to take in. She returned on December 2 with a quantity of pepper, and 14,500 rials of eight not needed there. Next day the *Blessing* came in, with some pepper bought at 'Mirchee'. At Bhatkal a good quantity of that commodity was proffered, but, as it was up in the country, the ship could not wait for it to be brought down. In her return she called at Goa and procured a quantity of arrack and cairo; also at Rājāpur, where she embarked pepper, 'dungarees', dutties, and cotton yarn. On December 4 the *Falcon* arrived from 'Pourcatt' and Quilon. At the former place Oxenden had bought a quantity of pepper, while in her return voyage he had at Cochin obtained 36 bales of cinnamon. The *Antelope,* which had left Fort St. George on October 13, anchored here December 7, bringing goods invoiced at 15,430 pagodas, some of which are now sent home and the rest are intended for Persia; she brought also a few freight goods, producing 200 pagodas. Account of the voyage of the *Supply* to Johore. Troubles caused at Achin by Courteen's people. The *Supply* left that place on November 5, and reached Swally December 12. She will shortly be dispatched to Gombroon. The *Greyhound* was detained at Tatta and did not get back here until December 17. The *Expedition* has been repaired, and is now a strong and serviceable vessel. For their plans for employing these ships during next season, they refer to a consultation held on December 21 [*not extant*]. Six bales of 'saboones' have been shipped in the *Eagle,* though intended for Persia; but there is not time to remedy the mistake, and possibly they may be found fit for export to Turkey, Guinea, or some other place. In transferring the

[1] His wages were stopped and he was given 75 lashes, after which he was sent home in the *Eagle*, 'with a bolt on his legg' (*O.C.* 2049, 2050).

Tatta indigo from the *Greyhound* to the *Eagle*, a bale was dropped into the sea; whereupon the value of the same has been ordered to be recovered out of the wages of the sailors responsible. Fitch, the General Purser, in spite of ill-health, managed to finish his last year's 'bookes of accompts' and to continue this year's, 'untill hee againe relapsed, and soe declineing untill the 28th of November, when, even in the height of his hopes to returne for England, God was pleased (as preintimated) to deprive him of his expectacions, us of his able assistance.' These accounts, therefore, cannot possibly be sent by the present ships. The books of the Fourth Joint Stock to September 30, balanced by Merry, are now forwarded; and the task of continuing them has been entrusted to Edward Pearce. Those relating to the Third Joint Stock and the General Voyage have hitherto been kept by the President, who had hoped to complete the former, as he has already done the latter; there are, however, several debts and accounts outstanding, and so he must defer sending a 'ballance' until the next advices overland. Will now conclude this lengthy letter by saying somewhat of the proceedings of the 'Courtinians' and the Portuguese. As regards the former, 'Capt. Edward Tompson, commander of ship *Ruth*, pretending a resolucion to take the Decan juncks in sattisfaction of his goods arrested in Raybag for payment of Mr. Courteens debts, possesed us with doubts, had hee putt that designe in practice, that some trouble might have befallen your affaires there. But wee since beleeve what hee did was only to make tryall whether hee could fright ought from Mr. Hicks &c. merchants; which faileing him, hee invested such monies as were left him into saltpeeter, some pepper, and other course goods, and left Rojapore peacably about the 12th of November; was mett with by the *Blessing* neere Goa the 14th, being then bound for Carwar, where hee intended not to make above three daies stay, and thence to proceed for England. Soe that in these parts they have not any more shipping left only the *Freindship*, which report sayeth is gon to the Bay of Bengalla. But on shoare there yet continues in Raybag four or five factors, some of whose letters wee herewith send you, which expresse themselves noe better then prizoners, being confined; nor will they, wee beleeve, long enjoy that little liberty yet left them. Their condicion is indeed deplorable; and if some speedy course bee not

taken to release them, it is not improbable but they may suffer much misery. In Carwar, it is also reported, their remaines two or three factors to keepe possesion of that mock fort; thesquire, wee know not out of what vaine hopes, haveing given order for the same.' Enclose letters for Alderman Andrews from the Rāybāg factors. Courteen's ship *Rebecca* having been sold at Masulipatam, a merchant named Walgrave[1], two master's mates, a carpenter,[2] and two seamen were allowed to proceed hither in the *Antelope*; and Messrs. [William] Cock and [Thomas] Lamberton were likewise brought from Achin in the *Supply*. All these men have now been permitted to take passage in the former vessel for England, the mates and seamen promising to deserve the favour shown them. It would be well if 'these parts were soe quit of the rest of Mr. Courteens servants, who only continue a ferther disgrace to our nation.' A Portuguese caravel reached Goa in August last, and two galleons have since arrived, bringing 'store of men, provissions, and (as report sayes) some quantity of currall'. Two other galleons are expected. Desire that no more coral be sent out at present ('except there happen a breach betwixt the Portugalls and Dutch') as all these parts are well stocked. 'From Goa there are this yeare designed three gallions for Portugall; but will not carry such quantitys of cynamon as formerly, the Dutch, by enhancing the price, haveing drawne the greater part thereof unto them. This Governor, Mirza Alieckbar, an ancient and very good freind to our nacion whilst hee continued a merchant, but since chainged both in quallity and condicion, became as very a villaine to all in generall as ever officiated that charge, being also Governor of Cambayett [Cambay], the 30th November left this place to vissett that; where practiceing his insufferable terrinyes, was the 21th following stobbed in three severall places by a Rashboote [Rājpūt], content to part with his owne life to bereave him of his, in reveng of his fathers injust sufferences (whome hee had long kept prizoner), and in vindication of his sisters honour, by him violently ravished; and

[1] This was Paul Waldegrave, who had shared in the miseries of Smart's settlers at St. Augustine's Bay. On reaching England he published a book, refuting Boothby's and Hammond's praises of Madagascar; for which he was given by the Company a gratuity of 5*l.* (see *Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 327).

[2] The two mates were named Thomas Benning and Edward Mason; while the carpenter's name was William Wells (*O.C.* 2063).

soe of the said wounds the 23th departed this life, to a generall excesse of joy in all that had any relacion to his goverment; wherein also wee hope for better times then could otherwise have bin expected.' Perhaps their coral will now vend, as the late Governor was a great obstacle in this. The *Eagle*, *Antelope*, and *Greyhound* have been all placed under the command of Thomas Stevens,[1] who has rendered valuable assistance in getting their lading completed in time. The two latter vessels carry less goods than expected, their holds being in part taken up with stores. From samples examined it is feared that the sugar received from Agra is not so good as they could wish; and further the excessive cost of transportation has made all the Agra goods seem dear. Still, they are reasonable compared with what others have paid since; and the credit of this is due to Knipe, who has taken great pains in the business. Praise him also for his resolution and valour during the attack on the caravan, which would probably have been captured but for his exertions. Having obtained enough piece-goods to fill the ships, they have kept out the cassia lignum and long pepper received from Bantam. Have also on hand some gumlac, myrrh, cloth, and pepper. A bale of saltpetre missing. On January 2 the Dutch *Juffrouw* arrived from Persia, bringing letters announcing the death of Heynes. Nothing is said as to the intentions of the Dutch; but some of the latter here report that early hostilities against the Persians are contemplated. Send a quantity of 'long beads or bludstones' for use in barter in Madagascar. The lading of the three ships amounts to 1,100,401 mahmūdīs 29½ pice[2], which is much more than can be 'spared from the clearing your Fourth Joint Stock'. However, this total could not be reduced, except by sending home dead freight, and they trust that the Company will

[1] A copy of the 'commission and instructions' issued to him and to the other two captains will be found under *O.C.* 2063. The homeward voyage is described in a letter from Gilbert Grimes, commander of the *Greyhound*, to the Company (*O.C.* 2081). The three ships reached the Comoros on February 5, Table Bay on March 21, and St. Helena on April 8. There they found the *Mary* (from Bantam) under Capt. Minors and the *Ruth* under Edward Thompson. All five ships went together to Ascension for turtle, and then left on April 25 for England. The Land's End was sighted on June 23, and three days later the fleet anchored in the Downs.

[2] In *O.C.* 2074 the amount is corrected to 1,102,528 mahmūdīs 4¾ pice (see also p. 210). The separate invoice of the *Antelope* forms no. 21 in vol. iv of the *Marine Miscellaneous Records*.

be encouraged to supply them speedily with means to pay their debts. Have shipped in the *Eagle* some diamonds and wearing apparel belonging to the late Richard Fitch; these should be made over to his friends.[1] *PS.*—Some letters, &c., from the Dutch chief here are forwarded for delivery to the Dutch Agent in London. (35 *pp.*)

Thomas Ivy at Fort St. George to the President and Council at Surat, January 17, 1648 (*O.C.* 2066 I[2]).

The *Antelope* has no doubt reached Surat in good time. Dispeeded the *Advice* to Bantam on October 14, with a cargo importing 16,000 rials of eight; and on January 1 the *Francis* set sail for 'Townapatam' [Tegnapatam], whence she was to proceed direct to Bantam. Her cargo is invoiced at 11,000 rials of eight. Acknowledge the receipt of letters from Surat. No freight for Persia is to be hoped for from this place; Winter has been directed to advise the President whether any is to be expected at Masulipatam. On the 11th current the *Farewell* arrived from Bengal, with cloth fitting for Europe to the amount of 3,500 rials of eight. For the troubles experienced there, owing to the action of the Danes, they refer to Hudson's narrative [*see* p. 174]. Two days after her arrival, the *Farewell* was sent to Tegnapatam to fetch back Gurney, who had gone thither to superintend the lading of the *Francis* and to procure more goods. 'Cogan[3] is runn away to St. Thome, and there is turnd Papist rouge, and goeth every day to mass with his wife. Reporte telleth us that the Viz Roy hath written unto the Generall of St. Thome to protect him from us; butt whither it bee soe or noe, wee are sure they will not returne him unto us, notwithstanding wee did send Mr. Thomas Breton to require him of the Generall in as freindly a way as might bee.' Request that representations be made to the Viceroy on the matter. 'The warrs doth yett continue in these parts[4]; butt (God bee thanked) the famine is much abated.' (*Copy.* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

[1] For lists of books and letters sent home per the *Eagle* and *Antelope* see *O.C.* 2064, 2065.

[2] For another copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[3] This seems to be Richard, the son of Andrew Cogan. According to *O.C.* 2441, Ivy had imprisoned him, intending to send him to England, in order to prevent his making a voyage to Pegu on behalf of Mīr Jumla.

[4] Cf. *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvi. no. 502.

Instructions from the President and Council at Surat to George Oxenden, January 20, 1648 (*O.C.* 2067).[1]

Trade being at present so bad that they can neither dispose of their goods here nor employ their ships profitably on freighting voyages,[2] they are prompted to 'new undertakeings', which may relieve them of some part of their large stock of coral. Have therefore shipped upon the *Blessing* thirty cases of that commodity, together with some broadcloth, opium, cotton wool, &c., for disposal on the Malabar Coast; and 'for the merchandizeing parte of this affair' they now appoint Oxenden, assisted by John Broadbent and the broker 'Somgee' [Somajī]. Further, as it is doubtful whether the coral will sell, the Portuguese having received a large supply, the *Blessing* is designed 'as well for war as trade, in hopes to recover some considerable part of the Companies losses from the Mallavars, the fine of this month being the season that they usually sayle from the coast of Mallavar for Mocho and Aden'. Broadbent has therefore been directed 'from Goa to range all the coast of Mallavar as far as Cocheen'. Instructions for trading at the latter place, including the purchase of Ceylon cinnamon. Returning up the coast, Oxenden is to endeavour to establish relations with the several 'Rajaes or Kings', who in his previous voyage in the *Falcon* made overtures for trade. This should be done through the broker, none of the Englishmen being hazarded on shore for fear of treachery. Possibly the coral may be sold at Cannanore, Calicut, or neighbouring places; if so, he should contract for a quantity of cardamoms against his return. He may also make preliminary agreements for future commerce. For this purpose, it may be well to land the broker at Calicut on their way down to Cochin to 'make enquiry into the disposition of those people, as also journy up to the King of Cannanore and doe the like; yett in such manner as it may not be thought we seeke their freindship; which may easily be disguised under pretence of trade'. On the return voyage, if the coral is still unsold, he may touch at 'Bassalore' [Basrūr] and Mangalore, the two best places in those parts for

[1] Another copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates*. For the instructions to William Broadbent, master of the *Blessing*, see *O.C.* 2068 (of which there is a signed copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*).

[2] Owing to Dutch competition (*ibid.*).

the vend of that article; and, if necessary, the broker may be left there against the ship's return in September following, to arrange for sales and inquire into the condition of trade in those parts. Pepper is at so low a price in Persia and Basra that it is not worth sending thither; while, as they have a large stock in hand and expect more from Bantam and Achin, they will be sufficiently furnished for England. If, however, he can sell any of his goods, he may invest the proceeds in pepper, cardamoms, and cowries for Mokha; where, if the markets prove bad, the cardamoms and cowries may be shipped in the *Falcon* to Surat. He should get back from Cochin to Goa or Rājāpur by the middle of March at the latest, and then sail to Socotra, where he is to buy some aloes. Next the ship is to proceed to Mokha, where he will be met by Nicholas Buckeridge and the broker 'Sowgee' [Sūrjī] who are to be dispatched thither, with a quantity of indigo, in the *Falcon*. Instructions for trade there. From Mokha the *Blessing* is to return to the Malabar Coast,[1] in order to capture the junks on their return and to fetch any goods that may have been contracted for. If it should be necessary to carry rials from Mokha to the Coast, 'let them bee of the worst sort'; those which are to be sent to Surat should be all Seville or Mexico, as Peru rials are not worth so much here. Since salt meat is scarce, the ship's company, while in port, should be allowed fresh provisions for three days in each week, 'as here in Swally Hole.' He is to advise his proceedings from Mokha by the *Falcon*. (*Copy*. 3 *pp*.)

Thomas Breton and Richard Potter [in Pegu[2]] to the Agent and Council at Fort St. George, February 11, 1648 (*O.C.* 2069).

Grieve to announce an unfortunate accident. 'You have already heard how the hand of the Almighty hath been upon us in takeing from us many of our ships company before wee came from Sirian; nor hath it there staid, but came againe upon us in a most deploreable disasture which happened with us yesterday in the morning; when about four of the clock one of the Pegue boatemen, in dressing

[1] She was to leave Mokha not later than August 10 and to get back to Swally by the middle of November (*O.C.* 2068).

[2] 'Twenty dayes journy short of Ava.'

victualls for his company, sett fire on the boat where wee was.' They have thus lost a large quantity of the Company's goods and some they were carrying up on freight, besides their provisions and household stuff. 'Of what necessaryes wee had of our owne wee are utterly stripped, even to our dayly weareing clothes, not haveing left us any thing to lie upon in this wilderness save the bare ground; nor have wee other remedy till wee repaire to the other boate, which conteyneth the remainder of our goods. The ruines of what wee have left, though of very little vallue, yet wee conceive them worth the carriage to Ava; but such is the cruelty of these people that, seeing us in necessity of a boat, will not be hired to furnish us for less then 500 usest[1]; which, though it sinck deep into the worth of our burnt goods, yet is better given then that they should be altogeather lost.' Will do their best with what is left. *PS.*—Beg that a copy of this letter may be sent to Surat. Forgot formerly to advise that on January 23 Richard Manly, who was in charge of one of the boats, fell overboard and was drowned. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

THOMAS IVY AND WILLIAM GURNEY AT FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, MARCH 28, 1648 (*O.C.* 2072).

Forward a packet received from Pegu for transmission to Surat. It came to hand yesterday by a Dutch conveyance. Rejoice that the representations made from Masulipatam against that venture were not listened to; they were due to 'the unwillingness and falce report of Richard Potter, that could hardly by us bee perswaded to goe the voyage'. The abstract of goods provided here and sold in Pegu cannot fail to encourage the Company to continue the trade (notwithstanding the loss of part of the cargo by fire), as the proceeds were nearly three times the original cost of the goods. Intend by the next Dutch conveyance (which will probably be in May) to dispatch thither William Curtis, chief mate of the *Farewell* and 'a very able and honest man', to take charge of the *Endeavour*; and with him they will send two or three English sailors and, if possible, a stock of provisions. (*Copy.* 1 *p.* *Received May* 6.)

[1] From a passage on p. 291, it will be seen that we have here a copyist's error for 'vests' or 'vists', and that the *viss* of *ganza* (bell-metal) is meant.

President Breton and Messrs. Merry and Pearce at Swally Marine to the Governor, Deputy, and Adventurers in the Second General Voyage, April 5, 1648 (*O.C. Duplicates* 2073[1]).

Reply to their letter of August 26, 1647, sent by way of Aleppo and Basra, and received here March 13. Note that a new stock, called the Second General Voyage, has been started 'to revive the trade of India'; and promise obedience to the instructions given in consequence. As regards the immediate investment of 10,000*l.* in goods for Bantam, they propose to send thither the stock they have already in hand, amounting to 20,000 rials of eight. These goods were bought for the Fourth Joint Stock, but as that Stock is already much indebted and no more ships are to be sent out on its account, they conceive it will be acceptable to both parties to turn them over to the account of the new Voyage. They will accordingly be shipped to Bantam in the *Lanneret*, which is daily expected from Rājāpur. The remaining 5,000*l.* shall be invested as speedily as possible; 'yett soe greate is the want of water in Ahmad[abad][2] that wee feare they will not bee in readines by the time the ship from Bantam usually arrives'. The permission given to borrow money in order to make an investment for England has been anticipated, with the result that they have secured 300 bales of excellent Agra indigo, though they were obliged to pay 'from 40¾ to 43¾ rupees the maund Eckbar', owing to the great competition for this commodity. Have ordered the Agra factors to buy another hundred bales, if possible; and should they fail, an endeavour will be made to procure that quantity in Ahmadābād or Surat. 'Of Ahmad[avad] rownd indico wee are very uncertaine whither any that is good, fitt for your occations, wilbe procured, the generall make of that specie in that place of late yeares beeing soe adulterated that it is not fitt to be sent you; for prevention whereof, and esteeming it the cheapest way, when indico leafe was most plentifull wee caused as much to bee bought as might make 200 churles of the flatt sorte; our Ahmadavad freinds being very

[1] The version in the *O.C.* series is merely a signed copy.

[2] Apparently the reference is to the lowness of the water in the river, which hindered the washing of the cloth (cf. p. 155).

confident it would not come to cost more then 18 rupees per maund, but now that the worke is almost finished, by an estimate lately received from them it appeares to cost 21½ and 22 rupees per maund; which however, being good, must supply the want of round, if it cannot be procured.' Will continue their precautions against the substitution of dirt for indigo. Will do their best to supply the piece-goods desired. Pepper is in such small demand for Persia, Mokha, or Basra that it can easily be bought at Rāybāg for about 14 pagodas 'the gunny, cleare on board'. They hope, however, that the *Blessing* may procure a quantity cheaper still lower down the coast, at Cannanore or Calicut. 'In regard of some late warrs this King hath had with the Tarter and other differrences likely to bee betwixt him and the Persian, who are said to bee coming against Candahar with a powrefull army, the exportation of saltpeeter is strictly inhibited; yet doe we not doubt, by the meanes of freinds, to furnish you with 3 or 400 bales.' Whether it will be possible to procure the desired quantity of good sugar is very doubtful, though orders have been sent to the Agra factors to do their best in the matter. If this fails, the cloth investment must be correspondingly enlarged. It may be necessary to send home the *Blessing* as well as the two intended ships, for otherwise it will be difficult to return the full amount of the investment; but as regards this they await further instructions. Will take care that the ships are dispeeded in good time. Note that the goods sent out on account of the new Voyage are not to be used to pay the debts of the Joint Stock, and that the accounts are to be kept as distinct as possible. The letter intended for Madraspatam was forwarded without loss of time. (3½ *pp. Received December* 25, 1648.)

THE SAME TO THE GOVERNOR, DEPUTY, AND COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, APRIL 5, 1648 (*O.C. Duplicates* 2074 [1]).

Received on March 13 their overland letter of August 26. Departure of the *Eagle*, *Antelope*, and *Greyhound* for England on January 7. In them were sent replies to the letters they brought, and also to one of April 23 which came by way of Aleppo; that

[1] This is the original letter, though placed among the *Duplicates*. The version in the proper series is a signed copy.

dispatched by way of Grand Cairo has not yet arrived. Note that the Fourth Joint Stock is being brought to a conclusion, and that a Second General Voyage has been started. The instructions received on account of the latter will be duly observed. Will keep the two accounts distinct, and will refrain from using the means of the Voyage for the payment of the debts of the Joint Stock. Enclose a statement of the latter's quick stock, which will show how heavy their indebtedness is and how much it is increased by interest; also that they have many goods still on hand, especially coral. Were glad to hear of the safe arrival of the *Dolphin*. William Pitt had long been very ill, but would not be dissuaded 'from proceeding on the voyage, which God, it seemes, was pleased to shorten unto him'. Rejoiced also to learn the arrival of the ships from Bantam. Trust that the Company will continue the practice of sending advices overland, which much facilitates the preparation of returns. 'Wee are confident before this tyme the Spaniards att Maneille repent themselves soe soone to have lost our company, the Dutch haveing ever since either intercepted in their enterance or hindred almost all other vessells going thither. They have also this yeare bin their with a great fleete to little purpose, haveing onely landed and taken a monestary neare unto the Cavite; whence they were againe beaten and forced to retyre with the loss, themselves say, of 60 men, but from Mallaca wee are advised of above 1000, which is the more probable story.[1] Wee are also informed that they have received expresse order from Holland not to distourbe your shipping passing through those straights; soe that wee hartily wish that the times were such as might againe encourage you to prosecute that busines, which wee hope hereafter may prove proffitable unto you.' Regret to learn that the private trade aboard the *Dolphin* was 'most exorbitant'. Informed the master and purser of all they could hear of before her departure, and took their bonds to deliver such goods to the Company. A thorough search was impracticable, 'the goods being stowed soe that they could not bee come by.' Broadcloth is in good demand, both here and in Persia. The bullion received by the *Greyhound* has been sold at a rather lower rate than last year,

[1] The landing seems to have been a very trifling affair (see *Dagh-Register*, 1647–48, p. 59).

'but much higher then it could bee advanced unto soe long as Allieckbar lived.' No more ingots of this kind should be sent, as they are very poor silver. Note with pleasure that no more coral will be sent for the present. The 'chirurgery and other stores' are always welcome and are very useful both in supplying the small shipping with medicines and in attending to the sick seamen, who are now upon arrival sent up to Surat instead of being kept at the Marine or on board ship. Cannot get rid of their coral beads except at a loss. The *Blessing* sailed on January 21 for the Malabar Coast and Mokha. Six days later the *Expedition* and *Lanneret* departed for Gombroon, with Company's goods to the value of about 256,485 mahmūdīs and freight goods producing 11,296 mahmūdīs; 'which answares not the freights of former times, that trade being wholly spoiled by the Dutch, who certainly ere long wilbe weary of keepeing soe many great shipps soe poorely employed.' Tash went in the *Expedition* to look into the state of the Company's affairs in Persia and to dispose of the goods thus sent, 'which hath binn done to reasonable good advance', as the factors will doubtless advise direct. The *Expedition* brought back in money, &c., to the value of over 400,000 shāhīs, while the *Lanneret* went from Gombroon to Rājāpur with a lading of rūnās. On February 15 the *Falcon* sailed for Suakin with the goods provided for that place the previous year; these were entrusted to Henry Garry and Thomas Cook. Upon her Nicholas Buckeridge took his passage for Mokha, carrying with him goods to the value of 41,306 mahmūdīs, his chief business, however, being to recover the outstanding debts pending Oxenden's arrival. On February 21 the *Supply* started for Gombroon, carrying little for the Company's account. 'Wee could not raise hir fraight to more then 13,556 ma[hmūdīs], the Dutch ships *Eufro* and *Salmon* both then attending upon that employment; the former of which sett saile six daies before the *Supply*, halfe laden; and the latter, continuing heere in expectacion of a freight untill the 26th ultimo to noe purpose, sett saile for Vingerla and thence to the Coast empty.' The *Seahorse*, after being well trimmed in this river, left for Gombroon on March 9, to bring back Tash. She too was disappointed of freight, owing to the competition of the Dutch *King David*. On her return, the *Seahorse* and the *Lanneret* will be sent to Bantam, and the *Supply*

to Achin 'to cleare that factory'. Similarly, the *Expedition* is now going to Basra 'to bring away your estates and servants thence'. 'Since Merza Mullucks [Muizz-ul-Mulk's] coming to this goverment', the lead so long on hand has been sold, for 8½ mahmūdīs per maund. Enclose a list of present prices. *PS.*—Samuel Wilton is dead in Persia; and this day Bartholomew Austin, their 'ship carpenter', died at Surat, to their great loss. (5 *pp. Received December* 25, 1648.)

President Breton at Swally Marine to the Company, April 5, 1648 (*O.C. Duplicates* 2075[1]).

Acknowledges receipt of their letter of August 26, 1647, acquainting him that he had been allowed to subscribe on very advantageous terms to the new stock.[2] Expresses his gratitude for this, and promises punctual payment of the moiety which is to be delivered into the Company's cash here. Will do his best to further the interests of the Voyage and comply with the desires of the promoters. It will, however, be very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to procure the full quantity of spices, 'in regard the late Comandore [*see* p. 211], one that very much respects our nation and hath, itt seemes, in this kind been too forward to pleasure your seamen, is now upon his departure for Batavia.' Will endeavour to prevent private trade in this commodity, though he knows it will bee 'a Herculean labour, indeed alltogether impossible except your sea-commanders and other ship officers bee by you awed thereunto'. Cannot promise a supply of cloves, 'their value here farr exceeding your limited price; being now sold in Surratt for 62 and 65 rupees per maund of 37 l[b]. But this is the rate which Virge Vora and some other merchants, which annually ingross all that come, redispose of them; who are said to pay unto the Dutch noe more then 45 rupees, and if I can possibly acquire them att that rate you shall not faile to bee furnished.' Estimates that the goods

[1] There is a signed copy in the *O.C.* series.

[2] On July 23, 1647, Methwold was permitted to subscribe 1,000*l.* in Breton's name to the Second General Voyage, and it was agreed that the money should be paid by the Company's Treasurer out of the sum due to Breton for part salary. On August 18, Methwold obtained sanction to subscribe a second 1,000*l.* on behalf of Breton, the money to be paid at Surat on the arrival of any of the ships of the Voyage. (*Court Minutes*, 1644-49, pp. 214, 218).

mentioned in their letter will fill the two ships intended to be sent. If, however, the spices be not procurable, the cost of the cargoes will come far short of the sum ordered to be returned. Probably fuller instructions will be received in the next letters. Wrote by the *Eagle* about a parcel of silk he sent home; trusts that the request he then made will be granted. (1½ *pp. Received December* 25, 1648.)

JEREMY BLACKMAN, ABOARD THE *GOLDEN FLEECE*[1], TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE COMPANY, APRIL 5, 1648 (*O.C.* 2077).

Having met the *Tiger* frigate, he thinks it his duty to advise that his ship is now in company with the *Aleppo Merchant* and Captain Durson[2], though he left the Downs some time before his consort. *PS.*—Begs that the enclosed letter may be sent to his wife. (1 *p. Seal. Received April* 12.)

GEORGE TASH AND JOHN LEWIS AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, APRIL 12, 1648 (*O.C. Duplicates* 2078[3]).

The *Expedition* and *Lanneret* arrived here February 21. Heynes had died on December 6 and Wilton on February 3. Certain packets received from the Company for Surat were transmitted thither in the Dutch *Nassau*, which sailed February 29. Account of the cargoes brought from Surat in the two vessels, and of a further consignment received by the *Supply*, which arrived March 31. The *Expedition* was dispatched to Surat on March 4 with money, sandal-wood, and three horses. The *Lanneret* sailed for Rājāpur seven days later. Account of the disposal of their goods here. Some of the indigo will be sent to Basra for sale. The markets here have been exceptionally good and afford 'furder encouragement for the visitinge of this port, espetially if this King proceed in his warr against the Great Mogul, as is most probable, since he is himselfe in person advanceinge towards Candahore for the recovery of that citty; upon which will doubtlesse imediately ensue a cessasion of trade between these two mighty monarks

[1] 'Ten le[agues] southwest from Lizartt.' His vessel and the *Aleppo Merchant* had been hired by the Committees for the Second General Voyage, and were now on their way to Surat.

[2] Commanding the interloper *Loyalty*.

[3] The version in the *O.C.* is only a copy.

people, both by sea and land; soe that what goods are by Your Worships shipinge brought hither, since the trade will wholely fall to you and the Dutch, must of necessity find good and quicke vend'. The *Supply* was dispatched to Surat seven days after her arrival. The *Seahorse* waited some time at Swally in hope of freight but only obtained a small quantity, as the Dutch were offering to take merchants' goods at any rate the owners pleased to give. She had a quick passage, arriving here on April 1. The Dutch ships have not yet appeared. The Persians continue to defraud the Company of its share of the Gombroon customs. In obedience to orders from home, the factors have contented themselves with taking what they could get 'by faire and plausible meanes'; but this moderation has been construed by the Persians as neglect or pusillanimity, and 'they are now growne to that height of dareingeness and contempt of us that they convey away 8 or 10 boates ladeinge of goods at a time from the ships, soe publikely as that they well know we cannot but to our owne griefe take notice of it; and till the richest of their goods be first frauduntly stolne away, wee are not called to the custome house.' At the end of the monsoon the English are paid the 'customory some' of six or seven hundred tūmāns, whereas their rightful share would be five thousand. It is doubtful whether even this small sum would be paid if there were a complete reconciliation between the Persians and the Dutch. The latter openly assist in conveying away the goods brought in their ships—'an afront unto us beseemeinge the rest of their insolencys'. Recommend this matter to the serious consideration of the Company. The Persians might easily be brought to reason by keeping one small vessel and two good boats in the road during the monsoon. It is true that the officials behave to the factors with seeming courtesy, especially the new Shāhbandar, who recently paid them 300 tūmāns, but at the same time intimated that they must not expect him to deviate from the example of his predecessors 'in abuseing you by all the private thefts he may'. Five Dutch ships have this year visited Gombroon from Surat. The first brought great store of spices; the rest chiefly freight goods and a small quantity of Agra cloth. The fifth, from Masulipatam, had on board 600 bales of sugar and about 95 of Coast cloth. The spices and Agra cloth fetched little. The Dutch expect two more ships from

Surat and three from other parts, 'with which we beleive they will againe attempt somethinge against the Persian, who are soe vigilant over them that we opine little will be purchased to them in this way, nor their liberty to buy silke on their owne condicions be easily graunted.' Have investigated the charges made against the Company's broker here, but he is 'soe suttle and powerful by his place amongst his tribe that none are found sufficiently dareinge to confront him heerein'. He alleges that the other brokers have combined against him, with the result that he cannot raise the price of the Company's goods 'to the gaines of the Moores and Banians, that pay 30 or 35 per cent. charges in customes, &c., of which exactions you are freed. That he is a dealer and sharer in goods sould out we are confident, which in a broaker is not tollerable'; so, unless he will consent to abstain from this, he will probably be deemed unfit for further employment. However, he has agreed to go to Surat and submit the matter to the judgement of the President and Council there. The *Seahorse* is now ready to sail for Surat, with Tash on board. He thanks the Company for sanctioning the increase of pay granted him by the President and Council. Cannot obtain any freight for the *Seahorse*, but she carries 40,000 abbāsīs, the produce of this season's sales for cash. Hearing from Basra that the markets there are 'dull and dead', they have abandoned the idea of sending indigo thither and have sold it here instead at 62 lārīs per maund. (6½ *pp.*)

President Breton and Messrs. Merry and Pearce at Surat to the Company, April 20, 1648 (*O.C.* 2079).

Wrote last by the *Expedition*, which sailed on the 8th current. That vessel having been obliged to leave behind a large quantity of freight, it has been decided to send the *Lanneret* (which arrived here from Rājāpur on April 15) to Basra also, carrying this letter. She is to leave that port again about the beginning of September for 'Synda', where she will embark the goods provided for England; she will then wait for the *Expedition* and return in her company, for protection against the Malabars. In place of the *Lanneret*, the *Supply* will be sent to Bantam, calling at Achin on her return voyage, 'to bring away your servants and estate.' Some cotton wool, bought specially for Achin, will meanwhile be dispatched

thither in the *Seahorse*, which will afterwards proceed to Jambi, and so to Bantam. Omitted to explain in their last that the invoice then forwarded of the goods laden in the *Eagle*, &c., was a corrected one, that which was sent by the fleet having been found imperfect; 'which wee humbly implore you to pardon and impute it to the Presidents indisposition, who, while he was penning our last advices unto you, was unfortunatly taken with a violent fitt of his unhappy desease, which occasioned the same. The 9th current in the dead of night the Dutch howse was violently assaulted and robbed by upwards of 100 men, who for the space of 3 howres ransacked allmost all the roomes therein without opposition, the Dutch being soe surprized that it became their whole care to secure their persons, yet were 5 of them, a black, and the porter wounded, wherof one of the Dutch dyed the next day and the porter yet lives, but irrecoverable. Their losse is said to bee about 22,000 rupees, whereof 14,000 rupees in mony belonging to the Company, the rest in jewells &c. appertaining to particuler persons.[1] Such disasters as this have not bin usuall in this place; yet wee esteeme it not unnecessary to acquaint you therewith, thereby to encline you to furnish us with 6 blunderbusses and 20 or 30 very good fire-locks, one moytie musketts and the other halfe carrabines [i.e. carbines], to bee constantly kept in our howse (those you formerly sent being disposed of to your small shipping); which will not only be usefull in defence of your estate and servants, if occasion should require, but very usefull for such convoyes as with your treasure are annually sent to Ahmada[bad].' Letters from Achin report bad markets there, but the factors were then (January 26) 'in hopes of quicker dispatch, their being quantity of tynn arrived. That Queene hath also granted us free trade to the west coast and Pera [Perak], from whence the tynn is brought; which may hereafter, if shee please to confirme it by hir firman, prove proffitable, but for the present we continue our resolucions of deserting that trade. Wee have lately bin informed [that] about the fine of February arrived at Goa two gallions from Macho [i.e. Macao], which two yeares past left India, and have since bin at Japan with an embassador to endeavour the recovery of that trade, but prevailed

[1] For the official Dutch account see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvi. nos. 504, 509, and *Dagh-Register*, 1647-48, p. 99.

nothing, both the embassador and his letters from the King of Portugall haveing bin rejected and the ships in dainger of reprizeing by the Japanezes, who earnestly endeavourd itt.[1] Their trade of China is also ruined by the Tarters, who have now almost perfected their conquest and are come neare unto Macho; soe that the said gallions have not brought any thing of consequence, nor doe any commodities vend there. Yet the Portuges dispaire not but that they may hereafter come to some indifferent agreement with the Tarters, although they are exceedingly menassed by them att present. The Dutch *Nasseau* and *Eufro* sett saile from Swally Hole, laden for Batavia, the 16th current; on the former of which Arrant Barrenson, late Commandore, tooke his passage; whome Yost Derrickson, his second, succeedes, untill the Generall from Batavia confirme him or appoint another.' (*Signed copy.* 2¾ *pp. Received via Leghorn May* 3, 1649.)

John Lewis at Gombroon to the Company, May 8, 1648 (*O.C.* 2080[2]).

The recent letter from this place leaves little now to be added. On April 16, 'in conformitie to the undeniable request of this Sultan and Shawbunder', two gunners were sent up 'towards His Majesties service'; they made a bad beginning, for at the commencement of their journey they were robbed of their imprest money. Sale of 'secumbers', gum-lac, and 'beeteelaes'. Best started for Ispahān on April 20 with some piece-goods for sale. The Shāhbandar has, after some demur, paid 635 tūmāns on account of the English share of the customs. The bale of Lucknow indigo sent as a specimen is not vendible here, and will therefore be sent to Basra. The Dutch *King David* arrived from Surat on April 28, with tin, cardamoms, Chinese sugar-candy, and copper. She is now preparing for Masulipatam, and will probably obtain a plentiful freight, as the Sar-Khail's junk is not yet arrived. There is no definite news about the King's war against the Great Mogul; but 'he is, to the no little joy of his people, made father of a young

[1] An interesting account of this embassy will be found among the *Lisbon Transcripts*, *Doc. Remett.*, bk. 59, f. 4.

[2] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*, wrongly dated May 2.

son[1]'. Lewis is preparing to leave for Ispahān. The proceeds of their sales will be sent to Surat by the *Expedition*. (2 *pp.*)

John Lewis and Thomas Best at Ispahān to the Company, June 28, 1648 (*O.C.* 2082).

This packet is entrusted to a friend who is going to Constantinople,[2] as conveyance by way of Basra is reported unsafe. Lewis arrived here after much trouble on the 13th of this month. Sale of piece-goods. Have ordered the making of the desired taffetas for next season, and are endeavouring to procure some silk at a reasonable price. The King's absence gives a favourable opportunity, but they are not likely to get any further supply at the same rate as they are now paying, for the King demands from the Dutch 45 tūmāns per load, 'with libertie that for every 100 loade bought of him they shold buy 30 of merchants att as easy tearmes as they cold procure itt.' Enclose transcripts of previous letters. (1½ *pp.*)

The Dutch Governor-General[3] at Batavia to the Nawāb Muizz-ul-Mulk, Governor of Surat, August 16, 1648 (*O.C.* 2083).

Has received the Governor's letter soliciting the issue of passes for Indian vessels to Achin, Malacca, and the neighbouring ports. Would be glad to meet his wishes, but for the present the embargo must continue, and the Surat merchants should be warned accordingly. Wrote last year, asking the assistance of the Governor in obtaining the return of 'the twoe wounded[4] Netherlanders'; but instead of this being complied with, still further injuries have been inflicted. At Ahmadābād the Governor, 'Saest Chan' [Shāistah Khān], forced 600 rupees from the factors for permission to receive the saltpetre they had contracted for: excessive road-duties have

[1] This appears to have been the son who in 1666 succeeded to the throne as Shāh Safī II.

[2] From a later letter (*O.C.* 2086) it appears that his name was Latola, and the object of his journey was to sell diamonds.

[3] Kornelis Vanderlyn (see p. 111). This seems to be a very poor English version, and apparently wrongly dated, since the fleet left Batavia on August 7, N. S. (July 28, O. S.).

[4] This seems to be a mistranslation for 'circumcised' (*besneden*). The men referred to were Dutch deserters who had turned Muhammadans, the one at Surat in 1635, and the other (a barber) at Ahmadābād in 1646 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvi. no. 509).

been extorted, in spite of the King's farmān: and in Bengal the Dutch merchants have been badly treated. These wrongs the Dutch Company cannot pass over, and satisfaction must be given. Desires him to inform the King, with a view to early redress being afforded. (1¼ *pp.*)

President Baker, Thomas Peniston, and Henry Olton at Bantam to [the President and Council at Surat], August 18, 1648 (*O.C.* 2084).

The *Farewell* sailed for Surat on the 4th current. Now forward a copy of the letter sent by her, and of the invoice of her cargo. Dispatch of ships for Jambi, &c. Debts to be recovered from the members of the crew of the *Farewell.* (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Agent Greenhill, William Gurney, and Martin Bradgate at Fort St. George to the Adventurers in the Fourth Joint Stock, September 23, 1648 (*O.C.* 2085).

The *Dolphin* and *Bonito* arrived on June 25, bringing the Company's letter of December 10, 1647, to which they now reply. The *Bonito* they hope to dispatch from this place to England by the beginning of January next. Acknowledge the receipt of 3,135*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* in rials and gold ingots, intended for the payment of the debts of the Fourth Joint Stock. Explain that although the accounts sent home in the *William* showed these debts as 10,000 new and 7,000 old pagodas, only the latter 'runne at interest'. They were borrowed at Masulipatam, by order from Surat, to make an investment for Persia, and were afterwards paid off out of means brought by the *Falcon.* 'The other 10,000 pa[godas] was not taken up at interest in Madraspatam, but lent us gratis by the Meir Jumlah, to bee repaid him at our ships arriveall, or in six months at the furthest; yet, not haveing wherewithall to sattisfie him in that time, continued his debtor from the 9th March, 1646, to the 29th June, 1647, when twas all paid him, and a present given him of a brass gunn &c., amounting to pa[godas] 641, 8 fa[nams].' Thereupon he gave a written release from all claims for interest, which, at the lowest rate current here, viz. 1½ per cent. per month, would have amounted to 2,350 pagodas; and meanwhile the

borrowed money had been used to provide a cargo for the *Hind*, which produced at Bantam nearly double its cost. Moreover, even in the absence of a loan, he would have expected such a present, 'for the priveledges at Metchlepatam and his new favours here in confirmeing the firmaunds given by the Jentue King touching this fort, under the King his masters hands. To conclude, nothing would please him but the abovesaid gunn, which, all thinges considered, especially his freindship, which, as experience tells us, is much to bee valued here, could not bee denied him in our opinion with conveniency and proffitt to your affaires and trades upon this coast.' The accompanying accounts will show that the Fourth Joint Stock has nominally a great capital on this coast, amounting to 63,779 new pagodas 4 fanams 0½ cash, or 102,046 rials, 36¼ pence;[1] but out of this 40,000 rials must be esteemed bad debts, 'besides a few stoores and moveables in the severall factories', and they cannot count on fully 60,000 rials as quick stock. Moreover, most of this must lie dead for want of employment. Before they received advice of the Second General Voyage, they had invested about 4,000 rials, and these goods will be sent home by the *Bonito* for the account of the Joint Stock; otherwise, even if they invest all the 10,000*l.* ordered by the Voyage, there will scarcely be sufficient cargo for that vessel. Although, after the departure of the *Seaflower*, they will not have so much as a boat to ply up and down the coast in search of goods, much less to go to Pegu, yet in compliance with the Company's orders they have begun here an investment for those parts and are sending 8,000 rials to Masulipatam by the *Seaflower* for a like purpose. Altogether they hope to make up a stock of 20,000 rials, to be ready by next May, which is the best time for a voyage to Pegu. As it is unlikely that Bantam can spare them a ship, Surat will be asked for a couple, one to be sent to Pegu and the other to carry the rest of their stock (nearly 36,000 rials) to Bantam. Even if vessels arrive from both places, employment can be found for them, as the spare ship can be sent to the Bay before being returned to Bantam. The *Francis* sailed for the latter port on January 18 last, with piece-goods invoiced at 10,840 rials, and was followed on May 22 by the *Farewell*, with a cargo valued at 17,873 rials;

[1] Evidently the rial was taken at 5*s.* and the new pagoda at 8*s.*

both of these were on account of the Joint Stock. The *Seaflower* brought from Bantam goods amounting to 20,993 rials, and on her came Greenhill to succeed Ivy, who had asked to be relieved of the Agency. Praise of Ivy; 'hee hath left us in peace and amyty with all our neighbours, and this place in better termes then hee found it.' Regret that the Company has ordered Isaacson to return to Surat, without making any arrangement to supply another minister in his place. This settlement, 'where you have so many servants and other Christians liveing under your comaund and wanting instructions', has as much need of a minister as any factory in India; and they intend therefore to ask permission from Surat to keep Isaacson until a successor arrive from England, 'although none for comportment and language can fitt this place better.' Have advised the adventurers in the Second General Voyage that the *Bonito* was dispatched, three days after her arrival, to Masulipatam with a cargo of nearly 28,000 rials, and from thence to proceed to the Bay with another cargo of over 26,000 rials. The following day the *Dolphin* sailed for Tegnapatam and Tranquebar, whence she returned on August 10, and nine days later departed for Masulipatam. From that port she sailed for Jambi on September 2 with money and goods aggregating 24,500 rials of eight. 'The *Seaflower* also voiaged it to the two said ports, from whence shee returned the 10th current; both the ships haveing gathred up about 9,000 rials, cloth being very deare and scearse in those parts. The reason is multitude of buyers, scearcity of weavers and painters, and ruine of the country by war and famine; which, haveing lately a litle refresht and recover'd itselfe by a respite from either, is like to bee involved againe in the same or not much better condition, for litle provizions hath arrived from abroad and the body of this kingdome is harried by two forreigne nations, who lye within two daies journey one of another with powerfull armies, watching all advantage upon each other, yet both strive to make a prey of this miserable and distracted or divided people. These are the Gulcandah and the Vizapoore [Bījāpur] Moores, the latter of which hath brought in 8,000 freebooters, who receave noe pay but plunder what they can; whose incursions, roberies, and devastacions hath brought a desolacion on a great part of the country round about, especially the three prime cloth ports, Tevenapatam, Porto

Novo, and Pullacherey [Pondicherri], of which the two last are in a manner ruin'd, the other hardly preserveing itselfe in a poore condition with continueall presents.' No white cloth has been received from those parts for many months, and the little obtained of other sorts was 'at exceeding high rates'. Prices are also likely to be increased by the recent arrival at Pulicat of six Dutch ships from Batavia, for 'wee know by experience they can chuse the times to raise the prizes of goods when wee have meanes'. Most of the coral brought from Bantam by the *Advice* last year has been sold at about 130 rials the maund of 25 lb., and they hope to put off the rest at about the same rate. If the Company desire a continuance of the trade with Pegu, Bengal, and Tenasserim, it will be necessary to supply them with two small ships fully equipped. About May, 1637, a bar of silver was stolen out of the Company's 'goodowne' [i.e. godown or warehouse] at Masulipatam; the thieves have now been discovered and imprisoned, and as they are 'able and rich men' it is hoped to recover the full value from them. The *Seaflower* is on the point of sailing for Masulipatam with a cargo for the Second General Voyage of 15,500 rials, which, with what is there ready, will make up the sum left behind by the *Dolphin*. Ivy takes his passage in the *Seaflower*, on his way to Bantam and thence to England. (*Copy. 5 pp.*)

JOHN LEWIS AND THOMAS BEST AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, OCTOBER 19, 1648 (*O.C.* 2086).

Now answer the Surat letters of March 7 and April 6. Agree as to the ability of 'Gechund' [? Jaichand] but are doubtful of his honesty, 'which in a broker is almost as rare as to see a black swan'; since, however, they cannot prove anything against him, they will not at present send him to Surat. Sale of their goods at Ispahān. Suggest the purchase of the English house at Gombroon for 150 tūmāns, the present rent being 25. 'The Dutches proceedings have long beene dormant. . . . Our cusselbashes[1] are not

[1] *Kizilbāsh* ('red-head') was the term applied, from the red caps worn by them, to the Persianized Turks forming the ruling class in Persia. In later letters of the present volume the designation is given to the soldiers of the royal army.

confident of them; and, that they should not make any fortifications on Larrack, themselves have founded a very strong one, begun in our late Jemall [Jamāl] Sultans time, who some three months since (his wife before him somewhat) dyed, and now is carefully prosecuted. Our present government is under Ivass Beage [Ivaz Beg], whose servant negotiates the imployment untill our dayly lookt for new Sultan.' It is reported that 'Lachin [Lāchīn] Beague, a notible active man', will be the new Shāhbandar. Broadcloth carried to Basra in error. Send a supply of verjuice for factory use, but fear that it is not very good, as it was freshly made when they left Ispahān 'and had not stood in the sonn long enough'. Will obey the orders for carrying freight-free the moneys of Vīrjī Vōra and certain other merchants. Deficiencies in weight of tin, pepper, and indigo. The beam here may be faulty and they would be glad of a better; on comparing weights with the Dutch it is found that 'there maund, which is 30 pound there weight, makes 32½ ours.' Dispute with the factors from Basra as to who should control the freighting here of these two ships, the *Expedition* and the *Lanneret*, which are to sail to-morrow. The two gunners intended for the service of the King had a miserable journey to Ispahān, and reached the English factory sick and destitute. Advanced some money to them, viz. 4 tūmāns to Peter Miller and 1½ to Daniel Chester; and after some weeks' stay they set out for the camp. Nothing has been heard of them since. Had provided eight or nine horses, but could not embark them in these ships because the latter are 'full of Bussora horses'. Now answer the Surat letter brought by the *Lanneret*. The robbery of the Dutch house at Surat must certainly have been effected with the connivance of the Governor; 'otherwise so many men could not bee all undiscovered.' Some taffetas provided and now sent; also some silk and rhubarb. The 'reprysall goods' taken by Cranmer about a year ago have been given up. Could not remit their cash at the end of the monsoon by bills of exchange, as none could be obtained on suitable terms. Forward their accounts, copies of letters, &c. 'August the 2d. arrived in Spahan an imbassadore from the Grand Senior, but had sooner beene with His Majesty in Mushatt [Meshed] and delivered his ambassage; which tis supposed was more to pry into the Persia proceedings then any other bussiness. Yet hee

pretended many other matters, that the Hodges[1] from those parts might have free passage for Mecha by way of Bagdat without molestation to adore there psewdo proffitt; and withall that the Grand Senior, understandinge his designe against Candahar, wisht him prosperous success therein, and desired that when hee had obteyned his ends in takeinge Candahar, that hee would please to remember him with two or three elphants (wee beleive a jeare), and to know whither his intentions extends further or not. His Majesties answere hereto wee know not; but [he] sent the Grand Senior two eliphants of his owne, and appointed the imbasadore to bee honourably entertained by the Governor of Spahan, which place hee much desired to see, and where hee was showne all the glory that this Kinge left behind him, his pallaces, plate, &c. Much money at divers times hath been remitted towards the Kinge, yet doth hee not advance further then Mushatt; nay, what is worse, since our cominge downe tis reported that hee intends with his army to retreate from this service and will advance against the Usebeags [Uzbegs'] countrey; and, if soe, it may bee projected, will returne home and doe nothinge more then weary his men in marchinge. The banners of Venice [i. e. Venus] more suites with his inclynations then Mars, though will scarce perchase soe much honnour unto himselfe or posterity.' Notwithstanding these troubles, caravans continue to arrive from India, by way of Kandahār. One, consisting of about 700 camels, began to arrive at Ispahān on August 14, bringing many piece-goods, the price of which fell accordingly; and it was rumoured that this was to be followed by a still larger one. 'The 11th instant wee had news in this place that the King, beinge weary of his grandmothers accustomed presumption over him, not consideringe that hee was now growne to more maturity, to be freed therof comands that she, together with the ould Sheckles loving mother, should bee poysoned; which was accordingly put in execution.' On the 14th arrived the *Lanneret* from Basra, having been twelve days on the way; and next day came in the *Expedition*, which had been delayed by touching at Kung. Have done their best to get both vessels dispatched as quickly as possible. Robert Wycherley is now sent to Surat, as promised; praise him and request that he may be returned.

[1] Pilgrims (*hājjī*).

PS.—The importunity of friends has induced them to grant passages to two Frenchmen 'and one pretended ambasador with his servant; from whom wee could take noe freight, it beinge a custome to gratifie Christians, though there bee too many at one time.' In addition, the Vice-Sultan forced them, by threats of withholding boats, to take another passenger, and they could not deny the same favour to a servant of their broker. Enclose an account of the freight, which amounts to 35,219 shāhīs. List of Company's goods landed from the ships. Forward some letters from the Dutch here. Could not obtain at Ispahān any carpets of the dimensions desired by the Viceroy. Beg a supply of provisions, especially candles. (*Copy.* $6\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

Richard Davidge at Biāna to the President and Council at Surat, November 16, 1648 (*O.C.* 2088).

Finds only too true the reports of the scarcity of indigo in these parts, owing to the partial failure of the rains; and moreover what has been manufactured is very bad in quality and very dear. Some Biāna and 'Bramabad' indigo has been sold, half dry, at 42 rupees per maund, and the price of that of Hindaun opened at $43\frac{5}{8}$ rupees. The merchants at Khurja are holding back their stock in hopes of better markets; but in the adjacent parts Hammersly and the Dutch have jointly bought about 400 maunds at 36 and 37 rupees. Fears that this sort will not come up to expectations as regards goodness; 'for it, being to my knowledge, made in one chebecha [Pers. *chahbachcha*, a vat], cannot compare with what is made in Coriah itselfe.' It will therefore be difficult to comply fully with the demands from Surat, but he will do his best. The caravans already dispeeded 'are gone Seroy[1] way', as that route is understood to be again practicable. Jesson's caravan from Lucknow, though it started long since, has not yet passed Agra, and may therefore reach Ahmadābād too late. 'Rajah Chittersalls debt is assured too desperate to build much hopes on its recovery, allthough Hackiket Ckaun promissed much to procure Sabeguns[2] neshan [order: *nishān*] to assist us therein; but

[1] Sirohi (see p. 157). Later in the letter Ajmer and Merta are mentioned as stages on this route to Ahmadābād.

[2] The Sahib-Begam, i.e. Jahānārā, the elder daughter of Shāh Jahān, and her father's favourite.

although hee hath been often solicited, hee hath performed nothinge answerable to promise. I shall, as occasion presents, bee still mindfull therof; but I cannot hope to sell it to the King, that project fallinge with the death of Assalett Ckaun; since when, though I have propounded it to divers umras, yet I cannot meete with any that will undertake it. I am glad to understand that the Princes neshan for Tutta is soe well framed that it may bee usefull. Such court writeings, although enordered amply, are by the malice of court ministers ussually corrupted and soe slightly written as that they often become invalid.' Dhanjī will write to Surat in answer to the queries on his brokerage account. Money wanted. 'Bagdats rendicion to the Persian Kinge is not confirmed, and therfore supposed to be a report framed by some wellwishers to the Persian to amuse there [these?] people, that they might not mind his cominge upon Cundarree [Kandahār], where hee is, by the generall voyce, entred, but hath not as yet done any notable exployte. The Prince Oranzeab is appointed to leave his voyage to Cabull and to march towards Cundarree to stop the incurtions of the Persian, whilst Shaw Jehan prepares a full lascar of all his umras to follow.' Encloses an invoice of the goods forwarded this season to Ahmadābād, amounting to 98,845 rupees 43 pice. These have been dispatched in several caravans, entrusted to house-servants and hired soldiers, and will, it is hoped, arrive in good time. It would have been impossible to send them in one caravan, owing to the difficulty of obtaining carts, &c., even at a high rate. Has forwarded all the goods ordered, except indigo and 'kerriabauds'; 'the former not yet fit to bee sent, and the latter unprocurable in the Tadgundy[1].' The second caravan was entrusted to 'Babboo' [Bābū] and Ahmad Khān, but the latter has returned on pretence of sickness; so the superintendence has devolved upon the former and 'Conooah [Kanhuā], a Hindoo, one of the cheife camellmen, with whom I have contracted for the adowayadge[2]'. He has promised to perform the journey in less

[1] From *O.C.* 2248 and references in *O.C.* 2071 to the 'Agra Tadgund or Basar', it would appear that this word represents the still existing Tājganj, the village which sprang up around the Tāj Mahal. Evidently it had become the chief place for the purchase of the piece-goods wanted by the English factors.

[2] Carriage. The word seems to have been formed from Guj. *adhovāyo*, 'a carrier,' by the addition of the English termination '-age'.

than the forty-five days allowed; and if he does so, he might be employed to carry the goods on from Ahmadābād to Surat. Jag Rām has again disappointed them in the supply of carts, having hired them to others to take down goods 'Brampore [i.e. Burhānpur] way'; he should therefore be pressed, on arrival at Surat, to pay his debt of 172 rupees, which they had agreed to treat as part of the payment to be made to him. 'The Dutch have lately received news from there former Comandore, Sr. Barnston [Barentszoon], that hee is bound with 10 ships to recomence there difference with the Persian. If there reports prove true (which God forbid), they are in equipage to give a law to the whole world on this side the Cape; and I am confident, if they have power, they want noe will enough to doe itt. They seeme to insinuate by there discourse that there said Comandore hath made a contract with the Governor of Surrat that noe goods shall pass to Persia untill there difference bee ended.' Will send as soon as possible an estimate of the 'quick stock'. Has with some difficulty procured two pieces of taffeta to be made, and these have now been forwarded. 'I could not possibly timely provide others of changeable coulers, and therfore have perswaded the makers to add to the ends of the pieces patterns of what may bee done; but I feare the price wilbe too high to give incouragment for the makeinge of more, nor will these people bee perswaded to undertake itt but at a greate rate; and besides greate quantities will never bee procured.' (*Copy.* 3½ *pp.*)

John Lewis and Thomas Best at Gombroon to the President and Council at Surat, December 4, 1648 (*O.C.* 2089).

Answer a Surat letter brought by the *Seahorse*, which arrived November 27 and duly landed her passengers and goods. Learned with regret that the *Supply* had lost her voyage. Wrote at once to Thomas Codrington, to make known to him the Company's pleasure[1]; but fear he may not arrive very soon, as, when the writers left Ispahān, he was starting for Tabrīz with a caravan of

[1] He had been dismissed the Company's service for marrying an Armenian woman (see p. 91), but in January, 1648, the Committees decided to reinstate him and depute him to attend the customhouse at Gombroon (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 255).

his own goods. As the President and Council are unwilling to buy the English house here, 'Gechund' solicits leave to do so, promising then to rent it to the factors. 'Wee esteeme this noe bad way, for him wee can force to put it into somewhat better posture, and afterwards (if times grow better) wee may have it at the same rate when it shalbe thought fitinge. The Dutches thunderinge cannons in Surrat roade (though nothing confest by the Comondore of this place) hath made a horrible buzzinge in the Persian heads. [They] are fearefull, but will not seeme to bee soe. However, there long absence, not yet arived, nor there long looked for ship (out of Batavia, by there owne relation, 3½ months) have given them tyme enough to fit there castells and draw in readiness (though not many in this towne) aboundance of souldiers, and now pretend they are fitted for them; but whether too make some unworthy conditions or to resist, the result will demonstrate. Wee are partly of oppinion that the conclusion of this device will prove that there aimes is as much to worke there ends from the Mogulls as Calebashes [*see* p. 216], and nothinge but to bringe both to better tearmes.' Their books will show that they managed to squeeze 635 tūmāns out of the Shāhbandar on account of the customs, which brought '5 or 6,000 tomands into the Kings treasury less then former yeares, in regard the Mesulapatam junke and many others arived not. Had not the Shawbunder promised us before hee spoke unto the Sultan, wee doubt so much would not bee obteyned, hee perswadinge him seriously to pay noe more then 500 tomands.' Regret that false rials were sent to Surat; the broker here will be made to change them. They had intended to give a present to the 'Asaph[1]' of Shīrāz on their way up to Ispahān; but finding that he had surrendered his post to his son (' least, not beinge posest before his death, might then faile of it'), and that both would expect a 'piscash', they decided to give nothing to either, 'knowinge the Companies bussiness with him would not afford such liberall presents as 8 or 10 tomands.' Will send back the gumlac chests at the first opportunity. Thomas Best thanks the President and Council for their consideration of his request and, since they are prevented by the Company's orders from gratifying him, 'hee knowes noe other way then patience at present.'

[1] The Governor (who may have been called Asaf-uddaula) is probably meant.

Rejoice in the arrival of the fleet from England. Are confident of selling their pepper before long. Deficiency in its weight. Will provide rūnās and rhubarb, as desired. 'Wee returne many thanks for your large and exceedinge dolefull English news. Tis Gods pleasure; [we] must waite his pleasure and time for a settlement, which at present seemes to bee at a mighty distance in mans apprehention.' Sale of some 'cannikeenes' left here by the Basra factors; their indigo and sandalwood are in no demand. The money now sent has been advanced by 'Gechund' (free of interest), and is to be repaid out of the first funds available. Eight horses, bought at very easy rates, come in this ship. 'This Kinge sendinge an embassadour for Russia few monthes since made silke soe scarce, hee carriinge great quantities with him; besides beareinge soe greate price in Turkie as was said induced Armenians to buy all up they could light on. The Kinge declines not from his pristine resolutions for Candahore (as was falcely suggested and our last informed you), but from Meshat advanced forwards about the 3d October past. May prosperous success attend his designe. Tis reported Sultan Blockey[1] accompanieth him and protests hee will take his owne kingdome. After a long seige of Muskat by the Arrabs, inhabitants of that countrey, in which time [they] had gained the towne, a small peace concluded all there difference towards the fine of October; wherein the Portugalls have not purchased much renowne to themselves, beinge to surrender unto there enemies three sundry places which long time they have usurped from them, though none of much consequence. One is called Dubba[2], four dayes saleinge from Muscat, where was erected a castle, but now, upon the surrender, is to bee demollisht. The Portugalls, as formerly, are to enjoy Muscat, but to free the natives of all customes, as was agreed upon by the King and the Vice Roy (or his agents) when first there residence was setled, but some two yeares together voyalated there promise, unworthyly dispenceinge with such covenants, and forced them (as others) to bee subject unto there tribute, which occasioned the Arrabs to comence this

[1] The impostor who claimed to be Bulāqī (Dāwar Bakhsh), son of Khusrū, the elder brother of Shāh Jahān (see the introduction to the 1630–33 volume, p. vi).

[2] Dabā or Dibba, about 220 miles north-west of Muskat. For an account of this campaign see Badger's *Imāms and Seyyids of Omān*, pp. xxiv, 64; Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, vol. ii. p. 296; and the *Lisbon Transcripts, Doc. Remett.*, bk. 59, ff. 68, 70, 74, 88.

war. Soe varyous hath our Bunder [Bandar Abbās, i.e. Gombroon] government been that in few moneths wee have had 4 or 5 severall governors. After Jemaul Sultans death was sent Ivass Beagues Janizeene[1], who was displaced by Sarrew Ckawny Sultan [Sārū Khānī Sultān] his Jannez[eene]; whose master dyeinge upon the way toward Bundar in Cuske [Khushk?], Zarthen succeeded (which is now with us) Jannezeene, sent by the Asaffe of Shiraz. With him is joyned the old Sultan Vizeere [Sultān Wazīr]. Who will next succeede Sultan, wee know not; nor are wee certaine who shall bee Shabunder.' On August 5 arrived the Dutch *Uitgeest* from Mokha, with a lading of coffee and pepper, which fetched 26 and 20 lārīs per maund respectively. Will provide more taffetas for next year's shipping. Account of freight by this ship [the *Seahorse*]. Money advanced to her master, Gilbert Gardner. She would have been dispatched earlier, but the factors, especially Lewis, have been delayed by sickness. All their servants have been ill, and their cook is dead. In their journey to Ispahān, four servants died, including the cook and the 'azzeer[2]'. Their custom-house writer gives thanks for his continuance in that employment. Money forwarded on behalf of the Dutch. Payments made to Robert Wycherley. 'The passed day wee received a letter from our linguist, who adviseth us of the death of Cogee Suffras [Khwāja Sarafraz], the cheife of the Armenians, and that another of good quallity, Meggardone [Megerdich], is turned Moore.' It is also whispered here that 'Comodore Willebrant[3]' and a skipper have been burnt at Batavia for sodomy. (*Copy*. 5 *pp*.)

Richard Davidge at Biāna to the President and Council at Surat, December 7, 1648 (*O.C.* 2090).

Wrote briefly on November 29 to advise his having drawn on Surat for 20,000 rupees to satisfy two clamorous creditors. Now sends a statement of the quick stock and certain other accounts. Although he has drawn on Surat since November 1 for 70,000 rupees in all, 'this factoryes ingagements will still amount to about

[1] Pers. *jā-nishīn*, a deputy.

[2] *Nāzir*, or head-servant. By a familiar process, 'a *nāzir*' has become here 'an azzeer'.

[3] Wollebrant Gelijnszoon (de Jonge): see a note on p. 240 of the 1637–41 volume. The story about him was quite untrue. He had sailed for Holland early in the year as commander of the returning fleet.

150,000 rupees.' Encloses an invoice of 261 bales of goods dispeeded from Lucknow to Ahmadābād, value 27,465 rupees 67 pice. They were sent direct owing to the difficulty in procuring carts [at Agra]; but, as this course proved more tardy than was expected, it will not be again adopted. Forwards a letter from Jesson about certain piece-goods; he desires also to be recommended to the Company for an increased salary. Indigo received from Khurja; it is possibly too poor for England, but may find a sale in Persia. Hopes to get the full quantity ordered of this commodity. Particulars of the bill of exchange for 20,000 rupees, which was negotiated at 4¾ per cent. loss. Yesterday heard that the two first caravans were met on November 10 near 'Seroy', whence they would reach Ahmadābād in about fifteen days; the third caravan had arrived at 'Jalore[1]' on November 15; and the rest were in good forwardness. *PS.*—List of bills drawn. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

The Same to the Same, December 12, 1648 (*O.C.* 2091).

Replies to a Surat letter of November 18. Explains the necessity under which he drew upon them for so large a sum. Trusts that the sugar sent down will be considered sufficiently good. For the saltpetre forcibly taken by the King's ministers he is only offered half the value in satisfaction, and has therefore delayed acceptance in the hope of obtaining better terms; but he perceives that 'this accurtious King suffers any voyalence to be used by his officers, if it redounds in the least to his benifit'. Wishes that the Company's affairs 'were in such aequipage as that our nation might become the object of their feare, as it is now the subject of their violence and mallice'. Notes that Captain Blackman has been disappointed at Goa, and that the Company's goods have been stopped at Rājāpur for Courteen's debts. Is glad that his account books reached Surat safely; of this he was much afraid, for scarcely a packet has for a long time been received here without being broken open by thieves on the way. 'Although the Dutch and wee have bought joyntly this yeare, yet, consideringe the badness and deareness of indico, I have suffered them to take all where I have found the comodity very bad, and onely weighed with them where it was passable; by which course I suppose I have contented them as

[1] Jālor, in Jodhpur State.

well as satisfied ourselves, our quantity beinge compleated.' He does not believe that he was overcharged in the rate of exchange, as alleged by the Surat shroffs, but on his return to Agra he will inquire into the matter. The Dutch have since paid the same rate as he did. Forgot to include in his statement of quick stock such debts as were very desperate. These will be found in the statement sent last March, with certain exceptions now stated. *PS.* (14th)—One of the bills sent from Surat has been refused in Agra and will be returned. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

George Gawton at 'Carapatan[1]' to [the President and Council at Surat], December 20, 1648 (*O.C.* 2092).

They have doubtless heard from Blackman of the writer's detention and its cause. Has since been brought to this place, where on arrival he heard that the Governor of Rājāpur had broken open the Company's warehouse and carried away the cloth, under pretence that it belonged to Courteen. Went thereupon to the Governor here and told him that the English would take their revenge upon the shipping of this port, as both places were under the same King. Alarmed at this threat, the Governor has written to court, urging that the goods should be returned, since the Rājāpur merchants who certified in writing that the goods were Courteen's have now confessed that they did so under compulsion and that the statement was false. Owing to these fresh troubles he is obliged to remain here, as the Governor will not hear of his departing. Desires instructions. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

Declaration made by President Breton at a General Consultation held in Surat, January 2, 1649 (*O.C.* 2094).

It had been his full intention to surrender his place to Merry, and to proceed to England; but the Governor of Surat has absolutely refused to allow him to leave. He now thinks it necessary, as aspersions have been cast upon him, to relate in detail what has passed between him and the Governor, in order to vindicate himself from being in any way accessory to the latter's

[1] Khārepātan is about 25 miles up the Viziadrūg River, but the name was also applied to the town at the mouth (Viziadrūg or Gheria) which served as its port. It was in the territory of the King of Bījāpur.

action. Shortly after the arrival of the *Aleppo Merchant*, he and the Council repaired to the Governor and acquainted him that he intended to return to England and that Merry had been designated to succeed to the Presidency. Thereupon the Governor earnestly entreated Breton to remain one year longer; but the latter refused, pointing out what a long time he had been in India and the necessity of his proceeding to England to regain his health. Nothing more was said at the time; but at each recurring interview the Governor never failed to press Breton to alter his determination. On December 22 the President and Council were sent for; and on their arrival the Governor conducted them 'into a private retired place, where being seated hee commenced a large invective story against the Dutch, telling us that they had undone the Kings port by depriveing his merchants of such voyages as they were used to make for Achyne: that they had allso lately forbidden them the sending of their ships to Persia: and that Mokha only being left an open trade, might allso this or the next yeare bee taken from them; which indignities hee could noe longer suffer, but in much passion affirmed with many oathes that hee was resolved to make seisure of their goods in the country and imprison their persons, and that now was the best and fittest tyme for the same, the Dutch haveing a large estate in the country and the Moores shipping being all in harbour; yett that hee would not doe any thing therein untill hee had taken our advice and opinions in the busyness, and for that purpose only had desired our company.' They replied that it would not be fitting for them to intermeddle, but if he wanted their opinion it was that 'hee should not too precipitately attempt itt, but rather advise the King of what had passed and attend his order for the same; after which, and many other words multiplyed about the same, hee returned with more then ordinary importunity, takeinge mee by my hands and knees to desire my stay.' Breton told him that this was impossible; yet he 'passionately persisted in his desires, pretending that hee would come home to the Companies house and not stirr thence untill hee was gratifyed in my stay; which, however, was denyed him, and soe at that tyme wee left him'. Merry next sent two friends to the Governor to dissuade him, but without result. Breton then advised Merry to go himself, taking with him the rest of the Council,

'to try if by good language and faire promises hee could divert him'; but this Merry would not do. The other members of Council were thereupon sent; only, however, to return with the Governor's positive answer 'that I should not leave Surratt, and that, being for the good of the Kings port, hee would deteyne mee'. The following day (December 28), Breton and the Council repaired to the Governor. Breton told him that he must and would proceed to England; to which Merry added such arguments as he thought fitting. All was in vain, however; and so next day it was resolved to ask the advice and assistance of Captain Blackman and the rest of the ships' commanders. Hence the present assembly. Before anything is done, Breton swears solemnly that he has had nothing to do with the Governor's 'plott' to detain him. He now requests the Council to take such a course as will enable him to carry out his earnest wish to proceed to England. At the same time, if it be thought best that he should remain, he is willing to sacrifice his own convenience to the Company's welfare. (3¾ *pp. Signed by Breton.*)

Proceedings at a General Consultation held in Surat, January 2, 1649 (*O.C.* 2096).

President Breton read to the assembly a written declaration of what had passed between the Governor and himself as to his intended departure for England, and further 'purged himselfe by a volentary and solemne oath from being guilty of any desire of, much lesse contrivance for, his longer stay in these parts', at the same time intimating his willingness to submit his own desires to what the Council should judge most conducive to the interests of their employers. Breton then withdrew, and the matter was fully debated with the following result. It was decided that, in respect of the Company's present great engagements in the country, it would be inadvisable to use force, and that the only safe plan was to continue their endeavours to persuade the Governor to concur in Breton's departure. Should these endeavours prove ineffectual, the majority were of opinion that it would be 'consonant unto the Companies expressions in their letter that hee should, and for the honour and welfaire of the Company ought to continue in his Presidency, notwithstanding the clame made by Mr. Merry thereto'. Blackman and

the rest of the Council have several times visited the Governor to obtain his consent, but in vain, and the Governor has in his turn come to the Company's house to entreat Breton to gratify him by remaining another year. Finding resistance hopeless, the Council has begged Merry to withdraw his claim to the office, and to this he has agreed, subject to certain stipulations 'in matter of conservation of his owne respects and honour for the time of President Bretons continuance'. The Council therefore 'declare it to bee of absolute necessity that Mr. Breton should and ought to continue the place of President till the departure of the next yeares shipping, when the Governour hath (at our request) obliged himselfe by writeing not to interpose any further obstructions unto his proceeding home.'[1] ($2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Signed by Jeremy Blackman, John Millet, George Tash, Edward Pearce, William Broadbent, George Oxenden, Thomas Billidge, Daniel Elder, Anthony Clitherow, Henry Gary, and Thomas Andrews.*)

DECLARATION BY MESSRS. TRUMBALL, ELDER, GARY, ANDREWS, AND ADLER AT SURAT, JANUARY 3, 1649 (*O.C.* 2097[2]).

They yesterday participated in a consultation on the steps to be taken in consequence of the refusal of the Governor ('pretendinge a comaund from this Kinge in that behalf') to permit Breton's departure for England. A dispute occurred as to whether, having regard to the terms of the Company's letter, it was in the power of Breton to retain the Presidency until his actual departure from Surat. They maintained that he could not; but ten other members[3] of the consultation took the opposite view. Now testify (at Merry's request) that upon his and Breton's return to the room, Merry protested against this decision, conceiving it to be absolutely contradictory to the Company's orders; and further claimed as his right both the post of President and the salary attached to it. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

[1] All this latter portion is really of later date than January 2 (see Merry's account on p. 238, and particularly his postscript).

[2] For a copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[3] These were Blackman, Millet, Tash, Pearce, Broadbent, Oxenden, Clitherow, Billidge, Gardner, and Reynolds (*O.C.* 2095).

Declaration by Thomas Merry, January 4, 1649 (*O.C.* 2099[1]).

Since the Governor is not to be turned from his 'obstinate humour' of staying Breton in India, 'though hee hath noe valid pretences, either agaynst mee or for his stay, but rather hath declared his indifferencie which of us bee the Honourable Companies President, soe Mr. Bretton stayes heare', he (Merry) is willing, for the sake of the Company's interests, to waive his own claims, though he conceives that his reputation will be exceedingly wounded by this course. He therefore agrees that, if the Governor cannot even yet be induced to change his mind, Breton shall, until the departure of the next ships arriving from England, 'bee taken and esteemed by the famaly and all others belonginge to the Companies employment as their President dureinge that tyme, myself only exempted from that acknowledgment or farther observance of him then as a companion; the officiateinge of which place of President I promise not to interupt dureinge the said tyme, but leave it soly unto him, in manner as it hath beene in former tymes.' Merry desires, however, that a copy of this declaration be sent to each factory to make clear his position; and further that Blackman and the rest, if (after one more trial) they find the Governor still obdurate, should intimate to the latter that Merry has consented to gratify him by yielding to his wishes. (1 *p.*)

Commission from the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to James Birkdale for the Homeward Voyage of the *Bonito*, January 7, 1649 (*O.C.* 2101).

His vessel being now fully laden, he is to sail as soon as possible. He should put into the Cape to obtain news of the ships from Bantam, as it is hoped he will find them either there or at St. Helena. Should he miss them, he must remain at that island until the Surat ships arrive, to enjoy the benefit of their protection for the rest of the voyage. William Leaver and Robert Doughty, 'merchants for the Second Generall Voiage', return to England in this ship; they are commended to his courteous usage. On reaching England, one of them should be dispatched to London

[1] There are copies among the *O.C. Duplicates* and *Triplicates*.

with the Company's letters. As regards the government of the ship he is referred to the commission he brought out. (*Copy.* $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

PRESIDENT PENISTON AND MESSRS. THOMAS WINTER, HENRY OLTON, AND JOHN YARD AT BANTAM TO THE ADVENTURERS IN THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, JANUARY 10, 1649 (*O.C.* 2103).

. . . Now answer the Company's letters of January 27 and June 6, 1648. Note from the former that it was intended to apply to the King of Spain for permission to trade at Manilla and that, until this be obtained, no further attempt is to be made in that direction. Have often advised the impracticability of procuring any nutmegs or mace from the Dutch at Batavia, 'soe long as this insolent Generall [*see* p. 212] continues in place, who indeed neither is nor ever hath showne himselfe a friend to our nation.' It is true that sometimes Chinese traders bring thence by stealth a few nutmegs, but for these they always demand an excessive price; while, as for mace, absolutely none is procurable here on any terms. 'Wherfore wee are of the same oppinion with Your Worshipps that of these two sortes of spices farre better, and at better rates, might bee procured from Surratt, where the Dutch doe yearly vend greate quanteties of them; and there your President and Councell imploying some Bannian, or one of the countrie people, to buy them of the Dutch (who are forbidden to sell them to the English), you may bee furnished with any reasonable quantetie that you shall desire. For cloves, soe long as Maccasser yeelds any, you shall not want.' . . . 'Of your island Poola Roone[1] wee can onely give you such relation as wee have from Maccasser, which is that our good neighbours, the Dutch, as of long time they have been accustomed, doe yearly send thither from the adjoyning islands a certaine number of their blacks to spoyle, wast, and cutt downe all the nutt trees and what elce is worth any thing upon it, that soe, whensoever Your Worshipps shall againe come to bee possessed of it, you may finde it as destitute of all thinges as their malice and basenes can render it.' . . . The goods sent home in the *Mary* [December, 1647] were mainly provided from the proceeds

[1] Pulo Run, one of the Banda Islands, had been recognized as British by the Anglo-Dutch Accord of 1623, but had not as yet been re-occupied by the Company.

of cargoes brought from Surat by the *Hart* and from the Coromandel Coast by the *Seaflower*. . . . 'The experiment which you desire wee should make with one of our small vessells for trade into Chyna wee are certaynly informed, by those that knowe the present state and condition of that countrey very well, cannott bee undertaken without the inevitable losse both of ship, men, and goods. For as the Tartars overrunne and wast all the inland countrie without settling any goverment in the places which they overcome, soe some of your [*sic*] greate men in China with a mightie fleete at sea of upwards of 1000 sayle of greate ships (as is confidently reported) robb and spoyle all the sea coasts and what vessells soever they can meete with; and how one of our feeble vessells would bee able to defend themselves against such forces is easie to bee supposed. As for the Portugalls in Maccaw, they are little better then meere rebells against their Vice Roye in Goa, having lately murthered their Captaine Generall sent thither to them; and Maccaw itselfe soe distracted amongst themselves that they are daylie spilling one anothers bloud. But put the case all these thinges were otherwise, wee must needs say wee are in a very poore condition to seeke out new discoveries, while you will not allow us either factours, shipping, or sayllors scarse halfe sufficient to maintayne the trade alreadie you have on foote; and therefore the Dutch would but laugh at us to see us meddle with new undertakings, being hardly able to supporte the olde.' Have written by the *Mary* regarding John Yard's claim for the balance on his Bengal accounts. If, upon the departure of Baines for Europe, Mr. William Isaacson, now minister at Fort St. George, desires to take his place at Surat, they will readily agree to his doing so; but they consider that a good minister is as much needed at the Fort (in respect of the garrison there) as anywhere else in India. . . . Last year twelve pieces of ordnance were sent to Surat (at the President's entreaty) for a new ship there built, named (it is believed) the *Expedition*. . . . Forward two letters addressed to the Company by the Agent and Council on the Coast; and for further details refer to Thomas Ivy, the late Agent, who now goes home in the *Dolphin*. Baker also returns in the *William*, and in his place Peniston has been elected President. . . . Ivy and Baker have paid in here 20,000 and 5,000 rials of eight respectively, to be

repaid by the Company in England. . . . (*3 pp. The rest of the letter deals with affairs in Bantam, Jambi, &c.*[1])

PRESIDENT BRETON AND MESSRS. MERRY, BLACKMAN, TASH, AND PEARCE AT SURAT TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT BANTAM, JANUARY 13, 1649 (*O.C.* 2106).

Explain their reasons for not replying sooner to the letter of August 7, brought by the *Farewell* on October 30. Are about to return to England the *Aleppo Merchant* and the *Golden Fleece*. Their sailing has been hindered by delay in the arrival of goods from Agra, owing to the King having impounded all the available carts and camels for his removal to Lahore. Credit has been duly given for the cargo brought by the *Farewell* on account of the Fourth Joint Stock. With regard to sending back in her a cargo on the same account, two difficulties present themselves, the first being their own 'exceedinge deepe engagements at intrest', and the second the positive orders received from the Company to remit 10,000*l.* to Bantam on account of the General Voyage. This could not possibly have been done except by transferring to that account both the goods sent in the *Supply* and those now put aboard the *Farewell*. To have borrowed more money would have been contrary to the Company's orders; and besides, their indebtedness is already so great that, unless a supply of money speedily arrives, they 'must infalliably suffer under a shamefull disgrace'. Think it would have been to the advantage of the Stock if part of the goods at Bantam had been transferred to the General Voyage, and if the money received in payment had then been transmitted to Surat to pay off the debts of the Stock here. Transmit an account showing how heavily Bantam and Masulipatam are indebted to Surat. Received by the *Farewell* a parcel of Coast indigo, but fear that it is of too poor a quality to be vendible. The silver she brought has been sold at a reasonable price. Will advise later as to the rest of the goods. Are as badly off as Bantam in respect of ships' stores, for the Company has sent out nothing of the kind, and they are consequently at their wits' end to keep their small vessels fit for service. Cannot

[1] The list of packet (*O.C.* 2104) accompanying this letter includes a number of account books from the Coast and an inventory of Richard Hudson's estate.

obtain any 'serias', even for their own use; for, 'the Kinge haveinge enordred a large investment in Dulka, where that sort off cloth is made, his ministers would not permitt any off the weavors to worke for us.' Note the fair character given of Mr. Benn. Have endeavoured to procure him a passage to England; but, as this could not be arranged to his satisfaction, he has been permitted to return in the *Farewell* to Bantam. The two slaves who had been given their freedom at that place have now been dispatched to their homes with 'some small reliefe to sustaine them' on the way. Will do their best to supply the goods desired at Bantam. Trust that those now sent in the *Farewell* will give satisfaction. Fine baftas could not be included, as this would have increased the cost beyond the limit fixed by the Company. Intend to dispatch the *Falcon* to Bantam after her return from Persia, whither she is now bound. The *Seahorse* goes to the Coast, 'to be employed to Pegu'; while the *Lanneret*, which was 'first intended thither', will in a few days sail for Suakin, carrying the goods which were returned from thence last year, and freight enough to fill up. Regret that they cannot spare the *Farewell* any English sailors, for their deficiency in this respect is so great that their own vessels have mostly to be manned by lascars; but they have added to the crew 'the four blacks desired by you', besides six lascars, who should be returned by the next ship. Complain of the behaviour of Read, the purser. Desire no more sandalwood or cubebs; but would be glad of as many tortoise-shells as can be procured, those last received having fetched 115 rupees per maund. The usual quantity of pepper may be sent, and any balance should be made up with rials of eight, 'off the Civill [Seville] or best sort.' The *Blessing* returned on November 19 from Mokha, by way of Cochin, Goa, and Rājāpur. She brought a little cinnamon, procured at Cochin, and a quantity of Deccan pepper and cardamoms. She now accompanies the *Falcon* to Persia. Jeremy Blackman, commander of the *Golden Fleece*, 'chiefe merchant for the Voyage', and temporary member of the council (by the Company's appointment) while at Surat, on his outward voyage called at Goa and Rājāpur, 'where some buisnes was in respect off the brevity off tyme and interposition off an unexpected diffrence with that Governour lefft imperfect'. He accordingly returned thither October 28. Finding

there the *Blessing*, the *Fleece* relieved her of part of her pepper; and, after finishing his business, Blackman got back to Swally December 4. Nine days after, the *Expedition* and *Lanneret* arrived from Basra, Gombroon, and 'Synda'. The *Seahorse* left for Gombroon on October 20 and returned December 26. The *Farewell*, while her cargo was being prepared, made a short voyage to Damān and Chaul. Among the goods sent in her will be found part of a parcel of shot sent from England for the Viceroy of Goa, which he has refused to receive, 'though obliged thereunto by contract'. It is thought that it may yield a good price at Macassar. Have decided, after all, to send a hundred pieces of fine bafta; also the 'opiom' asked for. 'The Dutch have had heere this yeare, besides the *Nassawe* nowe rideinge in Swaly Hole, six shipps, wherein they brought some land soldiers comanded by Arrant Bartenson [Barentszoon], with which he is gon for Gombroone, pretendinge to great matters, although we cannot see on what grounds they propose unto themselves any success. . . . We have taken what course we cann to secure the Companies rights in that Gulph, by deliveringe them a decleration off the same and protestinge against them in case they there attempt ought to the Companies prejudice.' *PS.*—The master and officers of the *Farewell* having declared that they will leave the ship unless the purser be removed, it has been resolved to detain him here and send him to Bantam later.[1] (*Copy.* $6\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

Instructions from the President and Council at Surat to George Tash, proceeding to Persia, January 20, 1649 (*O.C.* 2108).

He is to embark in the *Blessing* for Gombroon, and on arrival to take charge of the Company's affairs there. Although the Dutch have, on pretence of their differences with the Persians, prohibited the merchants of Surat from sending any ships thither, it has been decided to carry freight goods in these two ships. Notwithstanding any opposition the Hollanders may make, these goods (and also the Company's) are to be landed at Gombroon, unless to do so would cause a breach of the peace between the two nations. In that case he is to content himself with a protest, and then, taking with

[1] See *O.C.* 2100, 2102, 2105, 2107.

him John Goodyear and Robert Wycherley, he is to sail with both vessels (under pretence of going to Basra) to 'Conga [Kung] or Rushear [Rashīr]', and there land their cargoes. If the Dutch again prevent this being done, a second protest must be made; and then he is to pretend to return to India, but really to land both goods and passengers at Jask, to avoid the damage and dishonour that would ensue from their being brought back to this port. However, as it is impossible to foresee all contingencies, he is given a free hand (in consultation with the other factors) to do what is deemed best, 'provided (as preintimated) that it bee not to ingage us in a personall warr with the Dutch, for which wee have neither warrant from the Company nor meanes to maintaine it with any reputacion to our nation or safety to their estates.' It is believed, however, that 'the Dutch intend not really any warr against the Persian, but may hope, by thus molestinge him, to exact from him what they pretend unto; which, however, wee beleive will not easily bee granted. And for their inhibition of these people to trade thither, wee are very confident that it tends onely to the advanceing the sale of their owne comodities, wherewith the major parte of those ships which went from hence were impleate.' They expect, therefore, that the Dutch will offer no real opposition to the landing of the present consignments. This should be done as speedily as possible, in order that the goods may be sold before 'those vast quantities of Moores and Banians goods heere at present intended for Persia' find transport thither; in addition to which it is known that a great junk belonging to the Sar-Khail and a Dutch ship have left the Coast for Gombroon. As it is doubtful whether the *Expedition* is sufficiently seaworthy to proceed to Basra this year, it is important that the *Falcon* should be sent back as soon as possible, in order to take her place, if necessary; and since the *Blessing* is intended for the Coast, she also should be hastened back. The *Seahorse* will be sent from hence shortly to fetch away Tash at the close of the season. Directions for the disposal of goods at Gombroon. The broker there may be encouraged to buy the house now inhabited by the factors, as 'by that meanes the Company may enjoy itt upon better tearmes then they doe at present untill such time as they thinke fitinge to buy it outright; or at least there servants there resident

will bee quitt of a company of turbalent necessitated souldiers'. Broadcloth sent for sale. Should any letters arrive from the Company, Tash may open them and act upon the instructions found therein, especially any relating to the purchase of silk. Confirm Codrington's reappointment; and enact that in future all business relating to the freighting of ships touching at Gombroon shall be conducted by the chief of that factory. Last year some Arab merchants offered to freight one of the Company's vessels from the coast of Arabia to Surat with dates; if the proposal be renewed, Tash is at liberty to employ the *Blessing* in that manner. Should there be no market for his goods at Gombroon, owing to the troubles with the Dutch, he may take them up to Lar; and if they will not sell there, their disposal must then be settled by a consultation. *PS.* (23rd)—The enclosed account of money received from Persia last year will show 'some wanting in tale: many brass: but a great quantity of the Perou or Docany sorte of ryalls, different to what they ought to have been'; for all these the broker is to be called to account. The Dutch ships not having as yet returned from Persia, it would be well to touch at Jask to learn what is happening at Gombroon. If actual war is in progress there, the passengers will probably wish to be put on shore, with their goods, at Jask. (*Copy. 6 pp.*)

PRESIDENT BRETON AND MESSRS. TASH AND OXENDEN AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMMANDERS AND OFFICERS OF THE *GOLDEN FLEECE* AND *ALEPPO MERCHANT*, JANUARY 22, 1649 (*O.C.* 2109).

The Company having prohibited all private trade in general, and spices in particular, they are hereby required not only to abstain from embarking any spices themselves but also to prevent the sailors from taking any on board. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

JOHN LEWIS AND THOMAS BEST AT GOMBROON TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, JANUARY 27, 1649 (*O.C.* 2111).

Enclose copy of their last. The Dutch are treating with the merchants for the sale of their spices, &c. Hope to procure the full quantity ordered of rūnās by the time the ships arrive. *PS.*—

The Shāhbandar desires two or three good swords and as many pistols, especially one 'with divers barrells'. Request to be supplied accordingly. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Thomas Merry at Surat to the Company, January 28, 1649 (*O.C.* 2112).

Thanks them humbly for appointing him to succeed to the Presidency, though he is 'by unparaleld practises' deprived of it for another year, as he will now relate. Although the letters brought by the recent ships clearly intimated the Company's intention that Breton should return, the latter showed no sign of doing so, while his friends spread a report that the matter was left to his own choice. Thereupon Merry spoke to him on the subject, pointing out that he had now held the Presidency for longer than any of his predecessors, 'and further I signified my just aggreevances att his soe long enjoyement of that dignitie, for which (I said) I was putt in competition with himselfe so many yeares since; and in which I not onely esteemed myselfe injured in point of reputacion, but others alsoe will bee kept the longer from their hopes.' In reply Breton declared that he was fully determined to return home; and he tried to make out that his long stay had been against his own wish. A show of preparations for departure was now made, though with so much deliberation that many doubted whether Breton really intended to depart. Thus matters remained until December 23 [*sic*], when the conference took place with the Governor regarding the proceedings of the Dutch. At the close of the conference the Governor entreated Breton to remain another year, 'pretending some service which he might thereby doe the King his master and him'; to which Breton replied that he could not gratify him therein. This incident caused Merry to make some inquiries, which showed that 'there was a combination betwixt the Governor and some merchants in this towne for the stay of Mr. Breton'. Hereupon he sent Gary and Goodyear to the Governor to inform him that it was not in Breton's power to remain, as he had been recalled and Merry appointed in his place; that the latter held himself 'sufficiently qualified both to doe his great master and him as much service as Mr. Breton could doe if hee staied'; and that he was resolved not to yield his right to the post.

The Governor, who is 'an old, corrupte, perverse, and cunning fox, though seldome free from his ophium intoxications', seemed exceedingly provoked, and replied that 'Mr. Breton must stay, and that hee wold have it soe, in reguarde hee and the merchants of this towne had knowen him a long tyme, but mee hee knew not soe well, yet was informed how I was of a cholericke and severe disposition, which wold very ill suite with his (who was alike disposed) when wee two should have occasion to treat and controvert things'. No doubt Breton's 'complacency' is agreeable to the Governor; yet it may be doubted whether a 'moderate austerity' is less commendable in 'persons called to publique affaires'. The result of the interview was reported to Breton by Merry, who added that he suspected that the Governor's action had been prompted either by 'some in our owne family' or by the brokers. Breton in reply protested that he knew nothing of any such intrigues; and he agreed to send the Governor an intimation that it was his firm intention to proceed to England at once. This message was delivered on December 27 by three of the Council. The Governor answered, 'with a great deale of fained passion', that he had the night before received a farmān from the King ordering him to detain Breton a year longer, and this order he must obey—a ridiculous pretext, for all letters and farmāns from the King are received with such ceremony that their arrival is known to all the town, and nothing had been heard of any such event for a fortnight. The following day the President and the whole Council, with Oxenden to act as linguist, repaired to the Governor; when Breton announced that he would embark on the ships then lading for England, and that he trusted the Governor would concur in this and make their parting a friendly one. Merry thereupon added that in any case he should insist on his right to the post of President, and would so declare himself to be, whether Breton stayed or went; and that if the latter were kept by force, 'hee must remaine here in a more inferiour and private condicion then now hee was in, and as the Kings servant.' On this Breton 'exprest towards mee some anger, and said to me privately: I hope you will not soe declare your selfe while I am here'. The Governor, while affirming that he cared not who was President, so long as Breton remained, reiterated his intention of detaining him, and

made a shew of unrolling an old frayed paper with the King's seal, which he pretended was the farmān of which he had spoken. Next day it was decided to call up the commanders of the ships at Swally, and hold a general consultation. On the 31st Blackman and the rest went to the Governor and, with Oxenden for spokesman, endeavoured to alter his determination, but in vain, as he persisted that Breton's stay was necessary 'in respect of the Dutch proceedings'. Consequently a general consultation was held on January 2. First, Breton read a declaration [*see* p. 226] and took an oath that he had not prompted the Governor to interfere. Then he and Merry withdrew and left the rest to deliberate. Instead of debating the chief point, viz., how to secure the withdrawal of the Governor's veto, the assembly 'fell to arbitrate' the clause of the Company's letter concerning Breton's return and Merry's succession to the post. 'The controversie grew so great and hote that the noyce went over all the house'; whereupon Merry returned to the room and admonished them not to dare to arbitrate what the Company had already ordered and settled, for that was not the business before them. After a further hot dispute and a vote upon the question already mentioned, Breton and Merry were summoned and acquainted with the decision; whereupon the latter at once protested, as will be seen from the written testimony now enclosed [*see* p. 229]. The next day the Governor and a number of merchants came to the English house, when Blackman and Merry made a further attempt to obtain leave for Breton to depart; but the Governor remained inflexible. Seeing the position of affairs, on January 4 Merry, who had all along intended to sacrifice his own interests to the Company's if necessary, drew up and signed the enclosed declaration [*see* p. 230], which put an end to the dispute. 'Who were the contrivers and fomenters of it I am not certaine of. I have more charity then to thinke it hath beene the immediate practise of Mr. Breton, seeing hee hath renounced it by his voluntary oath; and yett I must not render my selfe so weake in judgment but that I must conclude (and that with the major part of our family and many others) that this Governor hath beene by more then ordinary importunity, if not by bribes, wrought unto what he hath done in behalfe of Mr. Breton. And whether he was prepared to goe home this yeare or nott I will

nott medle withall; butt that hee is well content with his stay is allmost every mans opinion.' Knows that the Dīwān and the 'Customer' have been active in urging the Governor to do as he has done; but who their 'secrett abettors' were Merry cannot discover. Fears that this action will prove a dangerous precedent, as well as a disgrace to the English nation. Certainly the Company is dishonoured in having its explicit commands set aside by its own servants; while Merry himself must suffer in reputation. The Governor, by the way, on learning that Breton would stay for the present, at once gave a written permission for him to depart later, and at the same time declared that he would himself write to the Company to explain his proceedings. Merry had always intended not to hold the Presidency more than three years, and he still wishes to return home at the end of 1651, having already served fully twelve years and being 'now growne ancient'. Trusts, therefore, that by that date the Company will either send out a successor from home or appoint one of those now here to the post; the latter would be the better course. Many of the factors would have gone home this year if they could have obtained passages, especially as the Company has refused to confirm the 'meane salaries' given them by the President and Council; and unless this decision is reconsidered, it is probable that next year the majority will return, leaving the factory denuded of experienced men. Urges strongly that steps be taken to clear the debts in this country, as they are extremely burdensome. *PS.*—Draws attention to Breton's preposterous action in getting his authority confirmed to him by a general consultation, 'subscribed by all the masters of shipps as well as factors not of Councell.' If Merry's written declaration was not enough for him, surely it would have been sufficient to bring the matter before the Council. (10 *pp.*)

Thomas Merry at Surat to the Company, January 29, 1649 (*O.C.* 2113).

Advises his having sent by the *Golden Fleece* on his own account a quantity of Persian raw silk and rhubarb, and some superfine cloth from Agra ('such as you meddle not in'). Begs that these may be delivered on arrival to Mr. Methwold, who will inform the

Company of what prices they fetch. Entreats pardon for this presumption. (1 *p.*)

President Breton and Messrs. Merry, Pearce, and Oxenden at Swally Marine to the Adventurers in the Fourth Joint Stock, January 31, 1649 (*O.C.* 2114[1]).

Wrote last on April 5, since when they have received (1) a letter of December 10, 1647, which was brought to the Coast on June 25, 1648, by the *Dolphin* and *Bonito* and came to hand here on August 13, and (2) one of March 22, 1648, which arrived in the *Aleppo Merchant* on September 27. To these they now reply as briefly as possible, omitting all matters mentioned in the separate letter to the Adventurers in the Second General Voyage. Promise to do their best to keep the two stocks distinct and to deal impartially with the affairs of both. The indebtedness of the Joint Stock has forced them to transfer to the Voyage the goods already provided for England. Will charge to the latter account the six per cent. commission agreed upon in England, but think that, considering the small amount of business to be done on behalf of the Joint Stock, this allowance is not equivalent to the great charge incurred by the adventurers in the latter. However, in any case this charge would have to be borne until the stock is cleared, which shall be done as speedily as possible. The high price of indigo has induced them to keep the supply low, both this year and last; though that will probably prove an advantage, considering the despicable prices ruling in England. Trust that these will improve, as they 'wholly depend upon the goodnes of the commodity', and they are confident that the present consignment (as well as that sent in the *Eagle*) will merit the approbation of the Company. Regret the deficiencies found in the cloth sent home by the *Dolphin*, and will do their best to obviate such complaints in future. Find everywhere exceedingly bad markets. Last year Mokha was so glutted with goods that most merchants failed to recover their principal; and Basra was hardly in better case. As regards Courteen's affairs they refer to their letter to the adventurers in the Voyage. They were 'wonderstroock' to learn that 800 parcels of private trade had been found on board the *Dolphin*. All that they

[1] For a signed copy see the *O.C. Duplicates*.

could hear of before the ship's departure consisted of some bales of calico, which were so stowed that they could not be got at; wherefore they were forced to be content with taking a written obligation from the master and purser to deliver all such goods to the Company. To the complaint that no nutmegs were provided by them, though some were carried as private trade, they answer that the Company had never asked for a supply; and in any case none could have been obtained for such a purpose, as the Dutch have strict orders not to sell any to the English factors. However, they trust that 'the estate of our country and your trade of India will ear long bee soe settled that you will become possessed of your due proportion of all those species upon more honnorable tearmes'. It is certain that the Company's rightful share of the Gombroon customs amounts to 'many times' the sum actually received; but for the present 'patience must be yours and our practise'. It remains to be seen what effect the operations of the Dutch will have upon this year's receipts. As regards the customs at Gombroon for the Sar-Khail's junk, they will be careful not to be more indulgent than is absolutely required in the interests of the Coast factories. Regret that their former remarks respecting the bullion, &c., sent out proved displeasing to the Company. Now enclose an account showing the disposal of such treasure as was received and sold this year on behalf of the Voyage. Return certain false coins, and must still complain that others were missing. The bullion fetched less than last year; and yet the shroffs declare that they have been great losers thereby, 'in respect that some of the ingotts issue very course', as will be seen from the accompanying sample. 'Noe less are their clamours against the Peroue rials, and not without reason, being compelled by the Governor to buy them at 202¼ rupees per cent., which, raither then mint, they againe sel (or as many as they can dispose of) at 197 rupees per cent.' The latter price is likely to be for the future all that the Peru rials will yield, and it would be well, therefore, to avoid sending any more. Will continue to do their best to recover the money due on account of Sir Francis Crane's tapestry, but have little hope of success, 'the Rajay from whome it is due haveing in the late warrs against the Tarter exceedeingly impoverished himselfe.' In conformity with the Company's orders to invest 10,000*l.* for Bantam, they sent

thither in December [1647] by the *Hind* goods to the value of 130,790 mahmūdīs, and intended to remit the balance in the *Lanneret* before the close of the monsoon. Meanwhile, however, came positive orders from the Company to invest a like sum on behalf of the Voyage, and this could only be done by diverting the investments in hand to the account of the latter. At this decision the Bantam factors are much discontented, but it is unreasonable to expect that their colleagues here should run themselves still further into debt in order to supply them, especially as Bantam already owes Surat 317,395 mahmūdīs, besides 242,418 mahmūdīs due on goods sent to the Coast. 'In reason they, being possessed of large remaines, both at Bantam and the Coast, for the Stocks account, should raither assist us to pay our debts.' Return thanks for the wine and 'chirurgery chest' sent out, though the contents of the latter were found (as usual) 'much defective'. Have advised the Persia factors of Codrington's reinstatement. Cannot get rid of their coral and coral beads; the former is in no demand, and although they have tried the markets at Mokha and on the Malabar Coast, little was sold. Even if a customer be obtained, they cannot hope to sell as coral the 'dust' found in the chests, the custom here being that the branches must be 'as cleane taken out' as they can be; though, on the other hand, they do not permit the buyers 'to peele the scurfe from the branches' before purchasing. Note the agreement made between the Stock and the Voyage, and will act accordingly. Breton expresses his gratitude for the permission given him to hand over charge to Merry and return home; but, as will be seen from the accompanying papers, he has been forced by the Governor of Surat to remain a year longer, 'to his noe small prejudice and great discontent.' This may prove an evil precedent in the future, and it shows 'what inconveniences upon all occations your servants and estates are subjected in thus resideing among and under the government of these Moores'. Trust that 'when it shall please God that your trade of India is againe revived to its pristine splendor by confirmacion of your priveledges and other encouragements', the Company will 'provide for the better securing both of one and other'. Andrew Baines, their minister, had intended to go home with Breton; but, as Isaacson desires to remain at the Coast, they will detain Baines here

for one year longer. At the end of that time, Isaacson will be called to Surat, and they hope that the Company will then supply Fort St. George with another minister in his place. Edward Pearce continues to act as Accountant here. The Company's refusal to confirm the recent augmentation of salaries to certain of the factors has much 'disanimated' the latter, some of whom have served from five to seven years at 10*s*. and 12*s*. per month. Many of these would have returned this year, had it been found possible to spare them, as will be seen from the enclosed petition, which is recommended to the Company's favourable consideration. Thomas Best, who serves in Persia 'at small wages and great charges', is also deserving of increased remuneration. Since the death of Fitch, the General Purser, who, 'languishing long in his sicknes', left his business much in arrears, his duties have been discharged with much diligence and ability by Anthony Clitherow; the appointment has now been given to George Oxenden, while Clitherow has been made 'Generall Warehowseman', his duties including the purchase of such baftas and cotton yarn as are annually provided in Surat itself. Have sedulously endeavoured to carry out the Company's orders for dissolving certain factories. At Mokha they have now 'neither people nor remaines'. Suakin must be revisited, because they have on hand a great part of the goods sent thither last year and returned unsold 'for want of time', and these are not so vendible elsewhere. At Basra the remains amount to over 11,000 rials of eight, to which this year they intend to add a large quantity of pepper now here; but they doubt not to 'cleare that place', and also Achin, by September next. When all this is effected, it may be possible to send home a few men; at present they can only spare Daniel Layfield, 'a reasonable good penman, whoe hath writt in our office allmost two yeares', and now takes his passage in the *Aleppo Merchant*. Next year, however, Breton, Tash, Wylde, Cogan, Goodyear, and Weale will all go home. Pearce is much inclined to join them, though it is unlikely that he can be spared. Jesson, now chief in Lucknow, has applied for permission to depart, but his services there are so valuable that they recommend an increase of his salary instead. A similar favour is desired for Henry Young, who has for three years acted as secretary here, on the wages of

a purser's mate. To John Adler, who has served two years at the Marine on the like terms, they have given a gratuity of 1,000 mahmūdīs, half to be paid at once and half at the arrival of the next fleet; but this is of course subject to the approval of the Company. Daniel Elder arrived in good health and will be provided with suitable employment. The 'registers' and transcripts of commissions will show how their ships have been utilized down to the close of the monsoon, except as regards the *Seahorse*. She came late from Persia, bringing thence George Tash; spent the rains 'in this river', under repair; and sailed again for Gombroon on October 20, with a cargo of pepper. She returned December 26, and is now again bound for Persia. Later on she will be sent to Achin, chiefly to assist the *Supply* in bringing away the Company's estate. As the markets at Gombroon last year proved 'indifferent good', and are likely to be better still this year, because the wars between Persia and 'this King' have stopped the overland trade, they have presumed to disobey the Company's injunctions against taking up further sums at interest and have ordered an investment of about 80,000 rupees in Agra and Tatta. With the goods thus procured, and some pepper, broadcloth, &c., the *Blessing* and *Falcon* set sail for Gombroon on the 24th current, Tash going in them to act as chief at that place during the monsoon. 'Uppon late advices from the Coast that famine againe begins not only to rage in those parts but that Gingerly, whence their wants used to be supplyed, is also imbroyled in warrs, soe that nothing can be expected thence', it has been decided to fill the *Blessing* with rice on her return from Persia and dispatch her to Madraspatam, where any surplus can no doubt be sold at a good profit. She is to return to this place in October or November. It is proposed to send the *Falcon* to Basra with Elder and Weale in charge; and the *Lanneret* to Suakin under Henry Gary and Thomas Cook, who managed affairs there in last year's voyage. The remaining ship, the *Expedition*, which is now again under repair, is intended for Bantam. Regret that, owing to 'the greate prejudice she received the last year in this river', she has proved rather costly in the matter of refitting; yet on the other hand she has earned over 50,000 mahmūdīs for freight, besides the service she has rendered to the Company. The Coast factors having provided an invest-

ment for Pegu and being in great want of a ship, they have been authorized to retain the *Endeavour* for that purpose. Trust that she will prove more successful than in her present adventure thither, in the course of which her master, Robert Cherry, her mate, Isaac Birkdale, and five of her men have died, while a great loss has been incurred by the burning of a boat laden with goods. Punishment of Nicholas Read for turbulent behaviour. Great want of ship's stores and also of sailors for their smaller vessels. Five Dutch ships arrived on October 14 under Barentszoon, and a sixth came in a few days later. They declared their intention of making war against the Persians, and accordingly prohibited the Surat merchants from sending any ships to Gombroon. Breton and his colleagues thereupon sent the Dutch a protest, 'in case they should there attempt ought to your prejudice'; and the fleet sailed on November 13, since when nothing has been heard of its proceedings. As the Dutch are not known to be actually at war with the Persians, and certainly are not with the Indians, the President and Council have not scrupled to accept freight goods for Gombroon from merchants here; and have further, at the request of the Surat officials, taken over a junk, fully equipped, for a voyage thither. They have agreed to put ten Englishmen in her, besides 'laskarrs', and the freight, after deducting their wages and diet, is to be equally divided between the owners and the Company. At the same time the Governor and others have given a written undertaking[1] not to hold the English responsible, should the Dutch interfere with the passengers or the goods, either on the junk or on board the English ships. 'The Portugez have of late susteined very great losses by shipwrack. Twoe gallions, the *St. Millagre* and *Patte*, sent the last year out of Portugall to arrive here in May, were both cast away, the former upon an iland on the back side of St. Lawrence, the latter not farr from Patte[2], on the coast of Mellinda, from whence she derives hir name. Twoe other, homeward bound, the *Santisimo Sacramente* and *Invocation de Nosse Senhora*, are also said to be lost near Cape Corentes. And in Aprill last at Goa and upon that coast there blew soe impetious

[1] An English version of this forms *O.C.* 2117.

[2] The island of Patta, in 2° 9′ S. The wrecks are mentioned in *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvi. no. 509.

a storme that twoe shipps, full laden and ready to sett sayle for China, rydeing without that Barr, with 20 or 25 sayle of friggotts within the river and divers others in differrent places, perished; wherewith, and that they have this year received noe supplyes from Portugall, they remaine very much dejected; yett, as we are informed, they determine to send home twoe small shipps.' Enclose an account of their quick stock. On examining the abstract of the Fourth Joint Stock sent out by the Company, they cannot deny themselves 'by that accompt to be your debtors; yett not much if you please to consider that upon the goods sent you hence neither custome, interest, exchange, nor many other charges are brought to accompt. But if thereunto you please to add the engagements of the Third Joint Stock, which the ancientest amongst us never yett knew out of debt, you will not, wee beleive, much wonder that we continue soe; nor imagine that by employment of your small shipping, especially in these dead times, we should extinguish soe great ingagements as pay not less then 10,000 pound starling per annum, nor have done many yeares. How that accompt of quick stock came soe neare to ballance your estate in these parts we well know not; but are confident there must be some mistake, since those sent you before and since tell us it cannot possibly be, nor have we been wanting often to intimate unto you the like. . . . We humbly referr you to the ballance of the accompt of quick stock now sent you, and farther intreat you to take notice of the Bantam and Messulapatam debts, with other many and large somes, which, though therein incerted, are not convertable into monies; and then we doubt not but you will be pleased to take the estate of your affaires into searious consideracion and give redress thereunto.' *PS.*—The Company's positive orders 'for not accommodating the Moores with any of your servants' have been communicated to the Coast factors and shall also be observed here, 'the liberty you grant excepted.' (14 *pp.*)

President Breton and Messrs. Merry, Blackman, Pearce, and Oxenden at Swally Marine to the Adventurers in the Second General Voyage, January 31, 1649 (*O.C.* 2115).

Acknowledge the receipt overland on April 25 of a letter dated October 21 [1647]; of another dated December 10, brought by the

Dolphin and *Bonito*; and of a third, dated March 22 and 25, which came in the *Aleppo Merchant*. To the letters thus received they now reply. As regards the intimation that two ships had been dispatched to India from Genoa,[1] and also Durson [*see* p. 207] from England, they find on inquiry that the latter left the Downs at the same time as the *Golden Fleece* and the *Aleppo Merchant*, but lost company in the Bay of Biscay; while the others, though supposed to have been the two vessels seen at sea by the Company's ships on the way out, have not reached India yet and so may possibly have had some other destination. However, if Durson had arrived, his operations would have been no great hindrance to the provision of cargoes here, as a sufficient quantity of pepper had already been purchased; 'but how to have prevented the like with you att home was a busines of greater difficulty, since, if wee should have endeavored it (according to your order) by engrossing what pepper procurable in Raybag, Sunda[2], and other adjacent parts, wee should not only have wanted shipping for its transport unto you but meanes to pay for it or otherwise dispose of soe greate a quantity.' As regards the goods received by the present ships, they have done what they could to advance the selling price of the silver ingots, yet without success, owing to the great quantity of treasure lately received, 'heere haveing bin landed at this custome howse, before yours arrived, noe lesse then 1,167,853 ryalls of eight.' At last, with much trouble, they got rid of the ingots at 2 mahmūdīs 4 'juttalls[3]' per tolā, which is 6 'juttalls' less than last year's rates. It cannot be denied, however, that those rates were too high, as the ingots proved very coarse. The present supply is rather better; yet the shroffs are suspicious of them, and if other species are available it would be well to avoid sending bullion in future. How the gold ingot and gold and silver coins sold will be learnt from the accompanying statement [*missing*]. Finding the Surat merchants disinclined to buy the quicksilver and elephants' teeth, instructions were sent to the Ahmadābād factors to sell them; and this they accordingly did, at 80 and 38 rupees

[1] For the history of this venture see Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, vol. ii. p. 294, and *Lisbon Transcripts* (at I. O.), *Doc. Remett.*, bk. 58, f. 55.

[2] The principality of Sonda, of which Kārwār was the port.

[3] *O.C.* 2147 explains that 48 'juttalls' went to the mahmūdī. The word is the Hind. *jītal*, on which see *Hobson-Jobson*, under 'jeetul'.

per maund respectively. The former is likely to be the constant rate for quicksilver, but elephants' teeth do not usually yield more than 32 or 34 rupees. Disposal of the broadcloth received. Much of it is rather too fine and dear for ordinary use; but if the Company would send 250 or 300 pieces yearly of a lower grade, costing from 13*l.* to 16*l.* each, one-third green and the rest 'stammells', no doubt they would readily vend. Lead sold or bartered at Vengurla, Khārepātān, and Damān. According to his instructions Blackman touched at Goa, 'where at his first arrivall and delivery of your letter to the Vice Roy hee was by him respectively entertained, with many expressions of his obligacions both to you and to him, that had soe seasonably accommodated his occations with such amunition, whereof the State stood in greate want; and thereupon, without any shew of his intentions to desert his contract, enordered both the granadoes and shott to bee landed; which being in the major parte effected, hee pretended that the Kings offic[ers], without whose advice and approbation hee could not in such case doe ought, haveing seene both sortes, affirmed they were too deare; and soe unworthily denyed to take them at the rates agreed upon, presumeing (wee beleeve) that they were not commodities for any other place and that Captain Blackman, raither then reimbark them, would have parted with them upon any tearmes; wherein his expectacions were deluded by Captain Blackmans discreeter proceedings, who, discovering his ignoble dishonest intentions, caused them all to bee suddainly reshipt and brought both morter peece, granades, and shott hither; when wee soe contrived it that this Governor had private notice thereof, who presently grew impatient to buy them; wherein after much importunity, yet with some seemeing dislike, wee grattified him soe far as to shew him the morter peece and 4 or 5 of the granades; which haveing vieued and the use of them, his next desires were to know their prizes, which were delivered him, vizt., 800 m[ahmūdī]s the morter, the granades 15 rupees per maund, and 8 m[ahmūdī]s the shott.' Believe he will take them at those rates, especially the two former; but at present he is awaiting instructions from the King. Some of the shot they have sent to Bantam in the *Farewell* for sale at Macassar to the Spaniards. The Viceroy, 'being sencable how much soe unworthy an act must of necessity detract from his

honor, to vindicate himselfe hath exhibited many lame arguments, such as wee presume you will receive in his letter[1] accompan[y]ing these, inscribed unto you. From Goa Captain Blackman in the *Fleece*, makeing only a short stopp att Vingerla, proceeded for Rojapore; where, haveing taken the best security hee could procure for such goods as hee should there land, which was a writing from Boggee [*see* p. 252], an eminent merchant of that place (the Governor under pretence of a superstitious fast excuseing his subscription)', he left Gawton with a quantity of broadcloth to be sold or bartered at not less than two pagodas per yard. Blackman then came on to this place, arriving October 12. He was at once admitted 'to bee of Councell'; but after a few days it was decided to send him back to Rājāpur in the *Fleece*, and on this errand he departed October 28. He found on arrival at Rājāpur that in the interval, 'some difference happening betwixt the Governor and Baggee about your cloth, hee was imprizoned and your cloth sequestred as belonging to Mr. Courteene, by reason that those that agitated the busines had formerly served him. This also occationed some difficulty in clearing the pepper and cardamon, insoemuch that Mr. Oxinden, who arrived there in the *Blessing*, was by that frantick Governor deteyned three daies, but by more then ordinary industry not only procured his owne release but drew of all your goods before the *Fleeces* arrivall; but neither Captain Blackman nor hee could prevaile for the enlargment of Mr. Gawton and your cloth, though Captain Blackman continued there, after the *Blessings* departure, to endeavor it; whereupon hee left Rojapore and sett saile for Carapatan, where from that Governor hee received very courteous entertainment, with multiplyed promises of all possible assistance, not only in procureing restitucion for your cloth but ought elce within the compas of his power; who also gave him a cowle or warrant for free trade at that port and a list for payment of customes upon easie tearmes (which, being translated, are herewith sent you[2]). Soe, time not permitting him to accomplish more in your busines, hee againe returned; since which, Mustapha Ckaune, unto whome the port of Rojapore belonged, being deceased and his estate fallen into the Kings hands, under pretence of Mr. Courteens being indebted unto

[1] See *O.C.* 2087. [2] These form *O.C.* 2458.

him for three yeares customes of that place, the warehowse where your cloth was sequestered hath by the Rojapore Governor, Mahmud Cossam [Kāsim], bin violently broken open, the cloth seazed on and carried away to the King; unto whome by our broker Benidas wee have addressed our letters and complaints, as also to Icklas Ckawne [Ikhlās Khān], a powrefull Ombra; but hee [Benī Dās] in his journy to Vejapore [Bījāpur] heereing that Mr. Gawton was removed to Carrapatan, went first thither and obtained his release; who some daies since arrived heere, and now (beyond our expectations) returnes unto you; which effected, Bennidas continued his journy to court, where hee arrived in a festival time, soe could not have present admittance to the King; but in three daies onely that hee was come to Vejapore, hee made our desires knowne to the Begam (the Kings mother) and some Ombras, whose assistance hee conceives might bee prevalent in the busines; from whome he derives greate hopes that when the King shalbe truely informed thereof, that the cloth will facilly bee recovered; whereof wee also are very confident. However, you can bee noe greate loosers thereby, Bennidas haveing in his hands, belonging to Baggee Shippott [Bhājī Shivpat] (who stands engaged), 6,000 ryalls of eight. Besides, haveing first made tryall thereof, if by faire meanes and in a peacable manner wee receive not sattisfaction, as well for your goods as the indignities wee have suffered, wee must and shall take some other course to provide for your indempnities. Besides what oweing by Mr. Courteene on accompt Rojapore customes, there are two merchants in Raybag, Kitchepurboo [Kachhī Parbu] and Christanague [Krishtu Nāyak], who pretend unto about 10,000 pagodas due to them, for which Mr. Hicks &c. were under restraint in Raybag; touching which debt wee have received from them severall letters herewith sent you, as also their addresse to the Honorable Court of Parliament for sattisfaction; Mr. Hicks &c. English, for want of meanes to maintaine them, being by them enlarged and gon for Messulapatam.' Believe they will return to England in the *Bonito*. For further particulars refer to Blackman. Advised overland their intention to transfer to the account of the Voyage the goods already provided for Bantam. These were shipped in the *Supply*, which returned from Persia on April 25. She sailed on May 7, but, the weather proving very

bad, on the 22nd she put into 'Marmagon', where she spent the rainy season, starting again on September 11. In the interim a further investment had been made, completing the amount ordered by the Company to be transmitted to Bantam; and these goods were put on board the *Farewell*, which sailed on the 20th present. Have now laden the *Golden Fleece* and *Aleppo Merchant* for England. A large proportion of their cargoes was seasonably provided in Agra, ready for transport to the coast; 'but such hath bin our misfortune that carts could not upon any tearmes bee acquired, by reason the King, in building of a new pallace at Dilly[1], 70 course from Agra, gave constant employment unto all that could possibly, either by violence or otherwise, bee procured; for which wee need noe farther confirmation then our owne experiment, who, haveing a parcell of browne cloth in May last sent from Agra to bee whited at Brodra and Broach, after they had proceeded 15 or 20 miles on the way, the goods by the Kings officers were cast downe in the feilds and the carts taken for his use; soe that necessity enforced those that had charge of them to howse them in the next village, where they continued dureing the raines, and by that meanes came not unto us untill November was far spent.' The dispatch of the rest of the goods was only accomplished after infinite trouble, and some sugar and calico could not be got down in time for these ships. Trust that the Agra indigo now sent will give satisfaction; its chief defect is its high price, but this could not be helped. In view of 'the despicable rates it bears in England', the quantity has been reduced; while for next year's consignment they have only ordered 200 bales, as indigo is now both dear and poor, owing to want of rain. The reason for making purchases so soon is that, 'the time of its makeing being in August and September, the principall season for its vend is October and November; although it would bee much more advantagious to the buyers if they would desist untill the fine of December or January, that the commodity might bee dry and merchandable; but such Mores, Armenians, and Banian merchants as buy it to transport for Persia, Bussora, and Mocha cannot protract time soe long, and if wee should not buy

[1] The celebrated palace-fortress of Shāhjahānābād (New Delhi) was commenced in April, 1639, and finished nine years later.

with the first, it would bee impossible to procure any good. . . . From this early buying, whilst the commodity is greene, proceeds the greate want of weight, whereof you soe often, soe much complaine; which befalls you not only in England but in these parts, in such as wee revend in Persia, Bussora, &c.; nor, to our knowledg, are other merchants exempted from the like losse.' Early advice of the Company's requirements is therefore essential; while 'for your sattisfaction in the weight, wee herewith send you 20 pice, by which indico is constantly bought, they makeing a seare, whereof the fardle of Agra ought to contain 6 maunds 6 seare nett, of 40 seare to the maund; by which you may facilly estimate what it ought to produce English. Ahmada[bad] indico hath of late yeares bin soe exceedingly addulterated that wee have bin enforced to make it ourselves; whereby wee find little or nothing gained in the price, only by this meanes it is pure and good.' Send 71 bales of round and 139 of flat; and will provide a similar quantity (but all of the round sort) for next year. This, they are confident, 'will not cost neare soe much, the leafe at present being much cheaper. Of this indico, the fardle of rownd ought to weigh 6 and the flat 4 maunds exactly, of the prementioned maund of 40 seare, it haveing bin soe reduced in time of the Princes goverment in Ahmada[bad].' The cloth sent is mostly of the ordinary sorts, carefully selected, sorted, and 'cured'. Were forced to provide rather more than was asked for, in order to fill up the ships. Send for trial three sorts of narrow cloth not previously supplied, viz. 'Kerriabaud baftes, Guzzee baftes, and Ojana[1] baftes'. The two former are procurable in Agra; the third they 'caused expressly to bee made in a cuntry where they have not formerly bin accustomed to that manufacture'. If approved, large quantities can be sent hereafter. Some unbleached 'Guzzee baftes' are included, to make up the deficiency in 'browne Guzzees'. Could only provide 17 bales of 'packing dutties browne', and no blue. Finding a difficulty in procuring sufficient cotton yarn at Surat, they wrote to Ahmadābād for a supply, but found it too dear, owing to the large investments made by the Dutch. Thereupon they obtained samples from Baroda, and these being equal to, if not better than, what was procurable at Surat,

[1] From a later reference it is inferred that this is Ochhan, 20 miles north of Broach.

they purchased fifty bales. Believe that that place will be the best source of supply in future. Being doubtful whether all the saltpetre desired could be obtained from Ahmadābād, they procured a quantity from Agra. This proved to be not so good, and cost dearer; so they will continue to buy the saltpetre raw at 'Malpore' and refine it in the Ahmadābād factory. As for sugar, if large quantities are required in future, they must be obtained from Agra and its neighbourhood; but probably the Company will desire to be supplied from Bengal, 'where it is better and cheaper acquirable.' That now sent is much better than the previous consignment; 'nor may you expect better.' At Cochin Oxenden was unable to buy more than the 48 bales of cinnamon now sent; 'nor will it, wee beleeve, hereafter bee worth the buying, the Dutch being owners of such vast quantitie that they have not only sufficient for Holland but supply all these parts'. Forward a small parcel of cassia lignum for a trial. Pepper and cardamoms have this year been so dear in the Deccan that none would have been sent home had the factors been sure of sufficient lading otherwise; 'nor doe they yet decline; the reason wherof is that that sort of pepper beares a reasonable good price towards Agra, whither quantity hath bin transported, and cardamon, whereof there is very little this yeare, is deare in Persia.' Have sent also some gum-, shell-, and seed-lac to fill up; and a quantity of aloes bought by Oxenden at Socotra and Mokha. Though they had promised to provide this year twenty bales of Persian silk 'for a muster', they have only been able to obtain ten. 'It is much bought up to bee transported for Alleppo, which argues that it yet continues to beare a good price in Europe; whence wee hope you will derive encouragment for the reviveing of that trade from these parts.' Forward samples of Persian and Agra 'taffeties'. There is no hope of doing any good therein at the latter place, 'in regard they answere not your desires in goodnes, nor can ten pieces possibly bee procured in a yeares time'; but in Persia the prospect is more favourable. Send also samples of Bengal silk, with their prices ('which raither decline then rise'). Have not been able to obtain the quilts and 'chints' desired, but will provide some against next year. 'This passed yeare wee have continued a constant residency att Ckandiera, cheifly to induce the weavors by degrees to make their cloth of

full dimencions; whereof you will receive a greater quantity then formerly. And if the cloth of those parts and other low prized baftes serve cheifly for dyeing, wee know noe reason why they should bee more then halfe whited, since in this cuntry such as are dyed into a darke blew are not whited at all, and of lighter collours but halfe whited, which would not stand in more then one m[ahmūdī] per corge, whereas the cureing, beating, papering, &c., of such as wee now send you comes to cost you 4¾ m[ahmūdī]s per corge, a very considerable difference'. Suggest a trial with the 'browne Guzzee baftes'. Find it impossible to keep the accounts of the Joint Stock and the Voyage entirely distinct, but will take care 'that neither of them bee thereby injured or prejudiced'. The *Bonito* and *Dolphin* will doubtless carry home all necessary intelligence from the Coast. The Governor of Surat has now received orders from the King to buy the mortar and 'granadoes' at the prices fixed, which will yield a profit of 1,135*l.* Doubt whether they will prove of much utility, 'the Kings curiossity, raither then any service, induceing him to buy them. Two English men they desire to have sent up with them; wherewith wee must of necessity grattify them, although your occations cannot well dispence with their absence.' The invoice of the cargoes of these two ships amounts to 54,530*l.*; but allowing for certain goods not yet arrived, and for 'the overcharge by rateing the Agra, Ahmada[bad], and Tahtah goods att 2½ m[ahmūdī]s per rupee', the real value is about 50,000*l.*; 'and soe much, 10,000*l.* for Bantam being deducted out of what you sent us, and 4,000 ryalls added, paid into your cash by the President, with the proffitt your cloth, quicksilver, &c., may heere yeald you, wee beleive wee shalbe possessed of. But then you wilbe indebted unto us 6 per cent. factorage, 6 per cent. custome of Broach and Suratt, with interest and exchange of soe much as is not charged in invoice; all which wee guesse cannot amount unto lesse then 8 or 10,000*l.*; with which some wee should gladly have charged you, if occation had presented; but, being your intended supplyes came soe farr short of what you were desirous to have remitted us, wee doubt not but you will supply that want the next yeare. Otherwise, if you should send us the *Eagle* and enorder the *Blessings* returne (as peradventer you may), which wee estimate to equall the burthen of

these ships, wee shall not know how to lade them.' Enclose a list of the present prices here of 'Europe goods', to show which produce most profit.[1] (13 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BRETON AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE COMPANY, JANUARY 31, 1649 (*O.C.* 2116).

Recounts the incidents leading up to his enforced stay. Trusts to come home by the next fleet. Has done his best to procure the spices desired by the Company. Finding that the whole quantity of nutmegs and mace landed here did not exceed in value 10,000*l.*, he wrote to Persia by the *Seahorse* for a supply; but owing to the non-arrival of any Dutch ships there before her departure nothing could be done. Had hoped to obtain some from the Dutch here, but a dispute 'betwixt one Sr. Vanteilen[2], who is lately confirmed Commandore, and hee that preceded him, interposed; through which and Virge Vora (who bought the whole quantity) his pressing of them both to the performance of their contract, my expectations therein are allso become deluded.' Could have got small quantities from Vīrjī Vōra at 98 rupees per maund for the mace and 28½ rupees for the nutmegs, but judged these prices too high, especially as both sorts were 'very meane and bad'. The cloves were better; yet these could not be had under 55 rupees, which exceeds the Company's limit. Regrets his ill success, and hopes to be able to send a supply by the next shipping. Thanks the Company for allowing him to subscribe to the Second General Voyage, and has duly paid 4,000 rials of eight into the cash here. Would be glad to participate in any future subscription. *PS.*—The four brass guns which have so long lain on hand here have now been sold to the Governor at 55 mahmūdīs per maund. (2 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT BRETON AND MESSRS. MERRY, PEARCE, AND OXENDEN AT SWALLY MARINE TO THE SAME, APRIL 5, 1649 (*O.C.* 2121).

Their last letters went by the *Golden Fleece* and *Aleppo Merchant*, which sailed together on February 1, with cargoes importing 1,058,342 mahmūdīs. For seven or eight days after their departure,

[1] For a list of the documents, accounts, &c., sent home in the *Golden Fleece*, see *O.C.* 2118.

[2] Joan van Teylingen, for whom see Hotz's *Cunaeus*, p. 419. Valentyn mentions him as having been chief at Ahmadābād.

the winds were unfavourable, and consequently they may have altered their intention of passing to the westward of the Chagos; if so, their arrival in England may be retarded. The *Falcon* and *Blessing*, which have just returned from Persia, brought no advices from the Company, but it is hoped that some will arrive in the *Seahorse*, which is expected from thence later. In anticipation of supplies this year, they have provided 264 bales of Agra indigo; more they would not buy, because it is dear and not so good as formerly. Have deferred arrangements for Ahmadābād indigo until they hear from England. Their cloth investments at Agra, Tatta, and Surat are on foot; and they are also providing a quantity of saltpetre. Have made no purchases of sugar, as that from Bengal is both better and cheaper. The broadcloth sent to Persia is in slight demand and will probably be returned; but they hope to be able to sell it either here or at Agra, as the Governor of Surat has bought a quantity at double its cost. Some pieces were found to be spotted and wormeaten, and will have to be sold at a lower rate. 'As for that embargued at Rojapore, wee have since the ships departure earnestly soliceted the King for its restitution; but hee being exceedingly deluded by Mahmud Cossome, the quandom governor of that place, who first made seazure thereof and carried it to court, the busines was by the King referred unto himselfe, who imediatly thereupon imprizoned our broker, Bennidas, and soe continued him 14 daies; when being released, haveing received a possitive answere that neither cloth nor satisfaction might bee expected and findeing that hee could have noe farther admittance to preferr his complaints, left Vizapore, came for Raybag and, there haveing cleared all accounts, is enorderd to returne. And now wee must recover satisfaction as wee can, which wee shall yet endeavor dureing the time of raines (in thintrim their ships returne from their severall employments) by meanes of the Governor of Carapatan, who very much desires our corrispondency and proffers us many courtesies if wee would frequent his porte; and by this meanes, if possibly wee may, preserve peace and quietnesse with a free uninterrupted trade in these parts. But if this course prevaile not, wee must sattisfie ourselves; wherein there wilbe noe difficulty, nor shall wee make any scruple of makeing them pay its full worth with interest.' As regards

broadcloth, the ordinary sort, either 'stamells' or greens, will vend well; 'and if such deepe stamells as you used to send formerly might bee procured, they would bee very acceptable and not soe subject to spott and staine as Venice redds and bastard scarletts.' The Governor is now preparing to send the mortar and part of the grenades to the King; and they are sparing a gunner's mate 'to accompany them, to shew the use of them'. The remaining shot will be forwarded to Bantam for sale at Macassar. Quicksilver, vermilion, and elephants' teeth continue to be in demand. The two former are not likely to decline in price; 'but the latter, depending upon returnes from Mosembique and Melinda, is more uncertaine.' Coral remains 'a very dead commodity', although no ships reached Goa from Portugal last season, 'nor doe wee heere of any yet come.' The coral beads are also still on hand. Refer to the enclosed price list for other goods suitable to be sent hither. Have already advised the agreement made with the Governor of Surat and 'Sied Sadka' [Saiyid Sadku] for freighting the junk *Fathī* for Gombroon [*see* p. 247]. She sailed accordingly, in company with the *Seahorse*, on February 23. Ten Englishmen were on board her, John Swanley acting as master, with 'Mr. Cock' to assist him. Sent in her a quantity of sugar which arrived from Agra too late for England; this they have insured at 2¾ per cent. of its value. The *Lanneret* departed on February 16 for Mokha and Suakin, with orders to return by way of Basra or Gombroon, 'fraighted with couhoseede [coffee], if it may bee procured.' The *Falcon* arrived from Gombroon on March 18, and the *Blessing* from the same place on March 30. The former has been reladen with pepper and freight goods, and is now being dispatched to Basra, consigned to Daniel Elder and William Weale, with orders to recover all debts and clear the factory as speedily as possible. The *Expedition*, after being repaired here, sailed two days ago for Gombroon, carrying cloth, indigo, pepper, and a considerable quantity of freight goods. Thence she is to proceed to the Coromandel Coast, returning later to Persia with freight. 'Upon advice from the Coast that all sorts of provisions were growne cheape and their greate feare of a second famine drownd by the plentifull fall of raines', the idea of sending the *Blessing* thither with rice has been abandoned, and she is to go to Achin instead; while the *Seahorse*, on her return from Persia, will

be dispatched to Bantam. The *Endeavour*, it is hoped, will by this time have reached Fort St. George from Pegu; she is under orders then to make a fresh voyage to the latter country with a cargo now being prepared on the Coast. By a letter from Humphrey Morse, they learn that on March 9 he was at Goa with Courteen's *Friendship*, 'come from Bengalla and bownd unto Persia, whence hee intends to returne back to Bengalla and there lade for England.' Have heard nothing further of Durson's ship or of the 'Jennoway' [Genoa] vessels which were said to be coming for India. Stores much needed for the smaller shipping. Urge also the provision of means to extinguish their great debt, as shown in the annexed account. 'The 16th February in the evening, ship *Expedition* being in the dock att Suratt tryming, three of theis cuntry soldiars passing that way had some difference with the laskars that wrought upon hir; wherein some of our people interposeing, they from words fell to blowes, and the English improvidently exposeing themselves unto dainger without armes, haveing only sticks and stones in their hands, and amongst them William Griffin, gunner of the ship, advanceing farther then the rest, was assaulted by one of those villaines and with a dagger stobbed to the heart; and then they began more desperatly and violently to persue the rest, even unto the ship, and wounded three more English and one black, the latter very daingerously, but they are since all recovered.' Complaint was at once made to the Governor, who has imprisoned the murderer and promises that justice shall be done. 'And heere we wish our penn might bee sylent; but to our greife it must imparte unto you a sad story of another nature, far sadder and more displeasing then the former, itt not only tending to the losse of a man but the dishonour of our nation, and (which is incomparably worse) of our Christian profession; occationed in Agra by the damned apostacy of one of your factors, Josua Blackwell, who the 11th ultimo after prayers (being the Lords Day) privately conveighed himselfe to the Governor of the citty, who, being prepaired thereunto, with the Cozee [*Qāzī*] and others attended his comeing; before whome hee most wickedly and desperately renounced his Christian faith and professed himselfe a Moore, was imediately circomsised, and is irrecoverably lost.' Refer for details to a letter from the Agra factors [*not extant*]. Will do their best to regain

him, but, judging by the experience of the Dutch, they are not likely to succeed. The beleaguering of Kandahār by the Persian King (who is expected to succeed in capturing it) has obstructed the land trade between the two countries, and has thereby much improved the trade of Gombroon. As a result, all the English goods sent thither in the *Blessing* and *Falcon* have been sold at a good profit, except pepper, with which the market had been glutted by the Dutch. The squadron sent by the latter to Gombroon has effected nothing. 'Notwithstanding they had heere expressly inhibited these merchants to send their shipping thither, and exceedingly menassed the Persians before their departure, being arrived and findeing them well fortified and prepaired to entertaine them, they unworthily and shamelessly affirmed that they never intended any difference with the Persian, and would have perswaded them that they were only ours and other their enimies sugestions; for which their ill grounded pretence and other their foolish mannagment of the busines, they are both there and heere deryded, slighted, and disrespected; and now, haveing lately received news that their greate fleete, sent to Maneilles[1] upon as sleevelesse an errant, hath had noe better successe, they begin to complaine their Generalls undertakeings are not prosperous; and indeed wee hope their wheele of fortune is att the hight. From hence they have this yeare laden for Batavia the *Nasseau*, which sett saile the 12th ultimo, and *Snuke*, in readines to depart.' Had written thus far when, by the Dutch *Haan* (which arrived last evening from Gombroon), they received the Company's letters of September 14 last. Will duly observe the instructions contained therein. Regret to learn 'the many discouragments you formerly have, and still continue to receive, in the prosecution of this Indian trade; and yet wee find your undaunted resolutions vanquish all impediments by its resolved continuance, and take espetiall notice that you have now againe revived the Fourth Joint Stock.' Hope that the money intended to be sent will enable them to reduce their debt at interest, 'the canker which hath soe long devoured soe greate a parte of your estate.' As only the *Eagle* is to be returned from hence, there will be no difficulty in procuring a sufficient lading

[1] This was the fleet dispatched from Batavia in May, 1648, under Abel Janszoon Tasman (*Dagh-Register*, 1647-48, pp. 76, 174).

of cloth and sugar. Not anticipating that saltpetre would be excluded ('which wee heartily wish may prove an omen of peace'), they had already provided about 200 bales, and the Ahmadābād factors were about to buy more. Wrote at once to stop them; and will utilize what has been purchased by sending it to Bantam for sale at Macassar to the Spaniards. The Gombroon factors will endeavour to procure the desired quantity of silk. Cannot promise any cinnamon, but will do their best; and as the cinnamon of 'Colon' [*see* p. 190] is disapproved, they will send no more. Are doubtful whether they can obtain the full quantity of Agra indigo desired; but there will be no difficulty about the flat sort of Ahmadābād, or about the drugs &c., requisitioned. Will do what they can to procure spices, but are not likely to be able to get as much as the Company wants. With regard to private trade, they see, from what is stated, how much they are deceived here, and they trust the Company will punish those found guilty of such practices. As they understand that there are considerable remains of the Joint Stock's goods at Bantam awaiting shipment for England, and as their only reason for keeping the *Blessing* in these parts was the expectation (now found unfulfilled) that she would be ordered home this year, they have determined to send her to Bantam with such goods as they have available. In view of possible trouble with the 'Decannees' over the cloth belonging to the Voyage, and the resulting doubt whether either pepper or cardamoms will be obtainable from Rāybāg, they intend to dispatch a broker to Cannanore (in the *Blessing*) to purchase a supply of both these commodities. The *Seahorse* will now go to Achin in place of the *Blessing*, with orders to return in company with the *Supply*. Thomas Codrington has taken up his duties at Gombroon and humbly thanks the Company for readmitting him. His wages will be paid out of the money received on account of the customs; 'which may peradventer quicken his dilligence in their recovery.' 'The news by this last conveighance from Gombrone of the takeing of Ckandahar[1] by the Persian is this day come confirmed unto this Governor from Lahore, and that the King of Persia is farther invadeing this Kings territoryes; but wee beleeve (att least hope)

[1] Kandahār surrendered in February, 1649, after a siege of two months (Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. vii. p. 89).

will not enter soe farr as to distourbe the free progresse of any parte of your affaires.' Regret to have to report 'differences and distourbances' among the Company's servants here; but are obliged to beg perusal of the enclosed correspondence [*missing*] between Merry and the rest of the Council since the departure of the fleet. Have not replied to Merry's last communication; 'yet for noe other reason but in consideration and confidence that our sylence wilbe more pleasing unto you.'[1] Breton undertakes to vindicate himself and the rest of the Council on his return, which will be at the first opportunity. *PS.*—The Company's advices to the Coast will be forwarded with all possible expedition. (10 *pp.* *Received in Aleppo August* 20, *and in London December* 13.)

JOHN LEWIS, THOMAS CODRINGTON, AND THOMAS BEST AT GOMBROON TO THE COMPANY, MAY 22, 1649 (*O.C.* 2122).

Silk and taffetas forwarded to Surat in the *Expedition* last year. Disposal of various piece-goods at Ispahān. Proceeded thence to Gombroon, arriving October 7, 1648. A week later the *Lanneret* came in from Basra, followed next day by the *Expedition*. They departed for 'Scinda' on the 19th. Some goods brought back from Basra and left here were sold at fair rates. Have at last, after several changes, a regular Governor here, namely, 'Thomas Cullee Sultan' [Thamāsp Qulī Sultān]; 'who, as wee cannot much commend, wee may not ill approve of, being more inclind to entertaine us with aboundance of freindly language (as being a spectator of what servise our nation did att Ormoose) then with any cordiall performances. However, wee continew a very freindly correspondence with him, and so shall abeare ourselves, by all the plawsable meanes wee may to worke our owne quietness, havinge noe other way then by our best language and sufferinge, with our annuall piscash, to purchase such poore respect as they are pleasd to afford us (often upon dishonourable tearmes), since the use of our nations armes abroade hath byn no less unhappily then tragically reverted into a most bloody and dismall intestine war.' Fighting round Muskat [*see* p. 223]. The *Seahorse* arrived here November 17, and sailed again for Surat on December 4. She brought instructions for the re-employment of Thomas Codrington; but, as he

[1] Merry records his dissent from this part of the letter.

was then on a journey to Tabrīz, it was February 20 before he could take up his post here. On December 20 six Dutch ships arrived, chiefly filled with soldiers; 'yet had they one shipp in companie, which shold have many months since arived from Batavia, with spise, &c., that helpt to save their reputacions, since they dared not to attempt any hostile act against this place, as was not onely publicquely declard in Surratt to that Governor &c., but heere fully resolved, had not your *Seahorses* arivall given these people warning to bee provided; which did disanimate the Dutch from attempting their pristine determinations. So that by all plawsable meanes possible unto Ivass Beague and the Lawre [Lar] Governor, who with many soldiers weare arived, and this Sultan, they endeavored a passification; and after the exchainge of divers messengers and various proceedings, wherein other events was expected, the 8th January a new league or peace was concluded, and all matters to remayne *in statu quo prius* untill His Majesties returne unto Spahon, when all grevances or Duch pretences are to be exhibbited unto his royall audience. Thus was a bold and foolish designe most dishonorably perioded; being the second bravado in four yeares made against this bunder, and hath now indeed so much elated the thoughts of theise people (together with the late taking in of Candahore from the Mogull) that in their owne esteeme no people under heaven for vallour and gallantry can come neere them.' The Dutch then brought on shore and sold such goods as they had with them. Another vessel of theirs arrived on February 4 from Bengal and Masulipatam. The *Falcon* came in on February 14, followed three days later by the *Blessing*, bringing Tash and Goodyear to supervise the sale of goods during the monsoon. Both departed in the *Seahorse* for Surat on April 7. The *Falcon* left again on March 2. A few days ago the Sar-Khail's junk arrived from Masulipatam; and 'according to annuall practise and the President &c. this yeares comaunds', the English half of her customs dues was remitted. On March 14 the *Blessing* sailed for Surat; and on the 18th two Dutch ships from that port anchored here. A letter from the Company arrived from Basra on March 16, and six days later a transcript was forwarded to Surat. Note the instructions for the purchase of silk, and will act accordingly. The same day came in the *Seahorse*, whose

goods were quickly sold at a profit of 60 or 70 per cent. Enclose copy of a letter to Surat, which will show how much they have been abused by the Shāhbandar, with the countenance of the Governor. Particulars of the return cargo of the *Seahorse*. As trade has been so good, they hope to receive a larger sum than in previous years from the proceeds of the customs duties. On April 15, after a very long voyage, the junk *Fathī* reached this port. The sugar sent in her on account of the Voyage produced 20 lārīs per maund, which gives a profit of at least 60 per cent. She sailed again on April 26. 'Mr. Theophilus May, a doctor of phisick, travellinge into theis parts, was vissited with sickness in this unhealthfull place about five or six dayes, when Thallmightie freed him from the troubles of this life, ending his progressions; as He did Thomas Bennets, one of Your Worships servants kept on shore for the custome howse business; boeth dying the 24th ditto, and the same eaveninge was interred.' The *Expedition* arrived on May 4, commanded by Daniel Lewis. The usual presents have been given to the Sultān and the Shāhbandar; these cost 13,835 shāhīs. The enclosed account will show that 'your factory of Persia hath made you exceeding good gaines this yeare; by our computacion at least 4,000 tomands[1]'. Prices obtained for the goods brought by the *Expedition*, which departed for Madraspatam on May 14. The ship expected for Basra has not yet appeared; but they cannot wait for her any longer 'in this sickly place (some of us being allready crazy)', and so they will set out to-morrow for Ispahān, taking with them the few goods left on hand. Have now finished accounts with the Shāhbandar, who has allowed them 700 tūmāns as their share of the customs. Have remitted most of their money to Ispahān, where it will be useful to commence the silk investment. 'Whither or what tyme this young King intends his next attempts, remaynes uncertaine. Having taken in Candahore (as allready said) hees now with some respit breathing himselfe and his wearied cuslebashes [*see* p. 216], they within the conquered citty, His Majestie and nobles sundry dayes journey on this side itt. Yett in probabillitie (and as uncertaine rumor speaks) he may happily eare long advance towards Backdatt, there to regaine some former lost reputacion

[1] About 13,333*l.*, the tūmān being valued at 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

of his predicessors. However, certaine itt is that, having proved so victorious in the verry maidenhead of his atchivements, hee is suffitiently animated with much ardency to prosicute (one way or other), rather purchase an enlargement of his demerrited renowne and greatness.' *PS.*—The second copy of the Company's letter of September 14 for Surat has just arrived by way of Aleppo and Basra; it will be transmitted to Surat by the first opportunity. Will endeavour to procure some spices from the Dutch; but this must be done through some Persian merchant, as the Hollanders refuse to sell to the English. (*Copy.* 8½ *pp.*)

John Lewis, Thomas Codrington, and Thomas Best at Ispahān to the Company, July 26, 1649 (*O.C.* 2123).

Left at Gombroon on May 22 a letter to be forwarded via Basra; and although the factors for the latter place did not reach the former until June 6, it has doubtless been transmitted. As, however, an Armenian returning to Constantinople has offered to take charge of a further communication, they now send a transcript and add a few lines. Arrived here June 20 and, contrary to expectation, found prices lower than at Gombroon. This was due, partly to the fact that a large caravan from India got through before the capture of Kandahār, and partly to the general want of money, the court being absent. However, it is said that the Great Mogul is so grieved at the loss of that city that he has resolved to stop all further trade; and if so, prices must improve. Cannot as yet dispose of their piece-goods; nor have they succeeded in getting much silk, as it is scarce and dear, owing to the present demand for it in Turkey. 'So unwilling is Shaw Johan to lett this young Kinge baffle him out of Candahore, a place of such consequences, that under the command of his youngest sonne he hath advancd forward and hath now beleaguard that place with an army or laskar consisting of 300,000 soldiers and 800 ellephants, and more is following; which hath inducd His Majesty, not many weekes since, to send command unto his ministers of this place to remitt him [some?] money for the relevinge and encouraginge his hungry cusl[ebashes], many whereof at his taking in of Candahore, for want of necessary providence in his comissaries, famisht for want of victuals, boeth

themselves and horses being forst [to] extream necessitie, and indeede some of them eating there [horses] preserved boeth from starving; to which purpose the 27th past [were dispeeded?] 74 camells, which carried in treasure about 30,000 (?) tomands, [a small] pittance for so poore and great an army; and about [ ] before was sent him about 40 small peeces. But when [hee] himselfe intends to march forwards from Herrawde [Herāt], where at present he is, as yet their is no certaintie. Many soldiers hee allready hath forwarded away. Few dayes past Your Worships servant, Peeter Miller, who two yeares past was, at the importunate and undeniable request of Bunder Sultan[1] (as formerly advised) sent unto His Majestie (with another young man that dyed) for a gunner in this servise, retournd, in companie of the Dutches, unto your howse in Spahan; who, notwithstanding that more then ordinary good servise which boeth hee and the Dutch gunner did, without whose assistance they cold hardly have taken Candahore, weare boeth most ingrate and unworthyly dismist without any recompence or satisfaction: an evell much rayninge amongst these faireto[ngued] extreame disembling Persians, who, when their business is effected (let it be in what kinde soever it will), longer remember not the actor, much less inclynd to requite the courtesie. But some imputes this (and happily it may be so) unto a letter sent by the superbious Hollanders at that instant when the Kinge was inclind to reward them; whose contents, though not yet knowne or publisht, certainely did import aboundance of bold threats and requiries concerninge their former differences, insomuch that one a suddaine boeth the Kinge and Ettamon Dowlets countenances weare changd, and seemd to be extreamely discontented; in such manner that none of his Ckawnes (though some of them very respective to our gunner for some perticuler servises done them with his plaister box) durst presume to urge (after once speaking) that your servant belonged not unto the Dutch; Ettamon Dowlet very injuditiously answaringe: Tis no matter: they are all Franges [*Farangī*, a European]; wherein he shewed (what before was to evident) his continued invetteracy against all Christians; and in this

[1] The Sultān or Governor of Gombroon. For the dispatch of these two men to the royal camp see pp. 211, 217.

manner was our gunner dismist, not having wherewithall to beare his charges, more then what he borrowed of a freind; notwithstanding the Kinge himselfe once told him orally (seing what execusion was made with the great gunns) that he wold bee so liberall unto him that whilst hee lived he shold not wante; but, poore man, he fownd a dishonorable neglect of a royall promise.' Recommend him to the bounty of the Company; and intend to write also to the President and Council at Surat to the same effect. Find great difficulty in obtaining the taffetas they gave order for, but hope to have them ready in time. ($3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*)

William Netlam at Balasore to the President and Council at Bantam, October 13, 1649 (*O.C.* 2126).

Advises an error in the cargo of the *Greyhound*. Encloses a note for Robert Wright. ($\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

John Lewis and Thomas Codrington at Ispahān to the Company, November 21, 1649 (*O.C.* 2131).

Have now got together $337\frac{1}{2}$ maunds of silk. Most of it is 'of Giulan, in England called Legee[1]', but there is also included some 'Sherwannee or Ardass[2]'. In addition Best has provided 42 bales at Lar. The latter parcel had been formerly dispatched by the King to Batavia, with an ambassador for Holland; but as the latter had no letter for the Governor-General there, he and his silk were refused passage and sent back to Persia, to the great annoyance of this monarch. Doubt not that the whole quantity will find profitable sale in England, especially if (as is here rumoured) the French King has proclaimed war against the English and has sent 'a puissant royall fleete, in behalfe of our late Kings Majestie', to the Levant Seas. This report has depressed the price of silk here, and so next year they are likely to be able to buy on cheap terms. Details of the 42 bales. Taffetas and rūnās also forwarded to Surat. On September 8 the *Lanneret* reached Gombroon from Mokha with a lading of coffee; she was to depart again by the

[1] Lahijan, in the province of Ghilān.

[2] For 'Ardass' see a note on p. 122 of the previous volume. According to Herbert Shirwān was roughly the present province of Azerbaijan. Fryer (*New Account*, p. 334) says: 'For weaving and transporting silks and velvets, Gillan stands in the first rank; in the second, Sherwan.'

end of the month. Sales of piece-goods. Can learn nothing about the Dutch negotiations with the King; but if anything is conceded to them, 'feare and not affection will be the inducement thereunto.' 'How the report of this tragicall story [of] our Kings beheadinge will take with this Emperour and nobles, future tyme must demonstrate;[1] but give us leave to express our feare, opininge that it wilbe deem'd so haynos a matter of such high nature (they not knowinge more then that our King is kild) that they will not only accompt of us your servants and nacion contemptable unworthy people, but retract from Your Worships that moyety of custome (and perhapps other immunitys) which soe long you have (though in a dishonnorable manner) enjoy'd and deerely purchast. Or, admitt they doe not thus rellish the accion (which, by the language of others, wee somwhat suspect, being told of the Kings death by the Shawbunder almost soe soone as ourselves (too soone) knew it), yett will they be apt to say that this league of freindshipp and agreement was made betwixt this and our Kinge, in whose right wee have hitherto sitt ith [i.e. in the] custom howse with them; whoe now being defunct, this amity and condicion is to be of noe longer continewance.' This is the more likely because the Persians 'have byn long weary of the business'; while the Dutch will not fail to aggravate their discontent. The writers will, however, do their best to smooth over matters and retain their privileges. On the King's return to Ispahān, they must offer the usual present, especially as (owing chiefly to His Majesty's long absence) nothing has been given for nearly four years. Rejoiced to hear of 'a blessed settlement, both in church and state, that once more peace and plenty (the blessings of th' Almightie) may florish in our poore distressed (because distracted) kingdome'. Lewis urges his claim to increased pay; and also recommends Best for a similar favour. 'Shaw Jehans, or the Magulls, army hath now againe rays'd its siege [of Kandahār: *see* p. 266] through the friggid congratulacions of that zone in this season; elce wee believe all Shaw Abasses forces cold scarce have repel'd them; nor will they (most think)

[1] Manucci (vol. i. p. 49) gives an anecdote of an English traveller who told Shāh Abbās that he had been a servant of King Charles and had witnessed his execution; whereupon the Shāh angrily ordered him to be imprisoned as a coward and a traitor, who had looked calmly on while his master was beheaded. Tavernier (ed. 1676, vol. i. p. 248) has a similar story, but makes the hero a Norman named Reville.

be thus stav'd of from further attempts when the season will admitt of their reapproach. Duringe this siege in many skermishes many of both sides hath perrished, whereof many of greate rank and quallity in this Kings service; for although wee must graunt that theise by many degrees be the better soldiers, yett being opprest by multitudes on th' one side and disheartned for want of pay and befittinge accommodacions (the life of solders) on th' other, sword and famin hath somwhat abated theire courage. Unwillinge they are to divulge their losses, and little cause have they to boast on; so that theise many weekes little certaine hath heere occurred. Only that Merob Ckawne [Mihrāb Khān], the new Governour of Candahore, to whom in principall (by the sword of Mortus Ally[1]) this King attributed the glory of his victorie, had chaung'd his governement from this to another world, with Corge Bashee [*see* p. 124], chiefe gennerall of the army, and many others: report speakes, through wounds that they received, but the majour part, not willinge to acknowlege it (as if it was a dishonnour or impossabillity that an Indian arrowe or sword shold pennitrate a Persian) pretends their deathes weare naturall. However it came to pass, most certaine tis the King hath lost good soldiers. Himself is about 20 daies since arrived to Mushett [Meshed], from whence he intends to vissit his Messondrone[2] and, if his enimies retourne occacion not the contrary, will about the next springe retourne to Spahan, where [h]is company is most heartily wisht for the vivifying of dull tradinge.' It is said that caravans are now allowed to pass from Persia to India, and that one, consisting of 800 oxen, is approaching Kandahār from the latter country; this, however, is unlikely. *PS.* (*November* 27)—Letters have just arrived from Gombroon, where Best has met with the factors from Basra. Having taken in the silk &c. sent down, the *Falcon* sailed for Surat on October 18, the *Lanneret* having preceded her by thirteen days. The freight received on these two vessels came to nearly 400

[1] Murtaza Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and in the eyes of the Shīahs his true successor. Fryer (*New Account*, p. 358), describing the Persian flag, says that in it 'the Grand Suffee erects a double-pointed bloody sword in a white field, and brings it out in honour of Mortis Ally.' Tavernier (*Les Six Voyages*, 1676-77, vol. i. p. 494) has a story of Shāh Abbās mistaking the figure of St. George on an English coin for a representation of 'Mortuz-Aly'.

[2] The province of Mazanderān, lying along the south-eastern coast of the Caspian Sea.

tūmāns; and yet they could not take in all the passengers and goods available, 'such nombers weare and are yett provideinge to repaire for India that way, in reguard theise warrs of Candahore renders the land passage uncertaine.' Details of piece-goods sold. *PPS.* (*by Lewis, November* 28)—Codrington owes a large sum in this country, and it is to be feared that in the event of his death the Company's interests may suffer. He also neglects his duties,[1] and is of little or no religion. (10 *pp.*)

PRESIDENT THOMAS PENISTON AND THOMAS WINTER AT BANTAM TO THE COMPANY, DECEMBER 6, 1649 (*O.C.* 2125).

. . . The long-expected *Endeavour* arrived November 24, having left Masulipatam on August 6. She came through the Straits of Malacca, and lost many of her crew during the long voyage. Her cargo consisted of 40 chests of gunpowder and 276 bales of cloth. The Agent on the Coast wrote that he would dispatch the *Greyhound* hither by November 1. 'Some three dayes passed wee received letters from the Dutch, dated in Suratt the 24th September, wherein wee read to our griefe of the death of President Breton, who, after 20 daies sicknesse, in July last ended his daies, and at present Mr. Thomas Merry succeeds him.' The *Eagle* had not then arrived, and Merry states that it will be at least the end of January before she can be returned. . . . *PS.* (*December* 15)— . . . Yesterday the *Greyhound* reached this place with a cargo amounting to nearly 37,000 rials of eight, the greater part of which will be sent to England in the *Farewell* and the *Ruth.* (1¼ *pp. The rest of the letter relates to Bantam, &c.*)

LIST OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS IN THE SURAT PRESIDENCY (*O.C.* 2152).[2]

At Surat: Francis Breton, President, 350*l.*; Thomas Merry

[1] *O.C.* 2133 is a protest by Lewis against Codrington, dated November, 1649, for desiring to stay in Ispahān (on the plea of his indebtedness) instead of accompanying him to Gombroon.

[2] This list, prepared in London, represents the establishment so far as was known at home in the early part of 1650. It is evidently the return that was laid before the Court of Committees on Feb. 25, 1650, as it is corrected, in another hand, in accordance with the revisions then determined upon (*Court Minutes*, 1650–54, p. 23). The names of Breton and Blackwell are also struck out; and that of Thomas Codrington added to the list of factors in Persia.

(300*l.*), Edward Pearce (100*l.*), and George Oxenden (40*l.*), Members of Council; Andrew Baines, minister, 50*l.*; Anthony Clitherow, Warehouseman, 60*l.*; John Anthony, 'chirurgion', 33*l.*; Henry Young, 18*l.*; John Adler, 18*l.*; Nicholas Buckeridge, 25*l.*; Walter Gollofer, 25*l.*; John Broadbent, 20*l.*; Edward Lock, 'chirurgions mate', 22*l.* 4*s.*; John Chambers, 'boarder' [*nil*]; William Noke, the President's servant, 4*l.* 16*s.*; George Pepys, Mr. Merry's servant, 9*l.*; Herman Hill, trumpeter, 24*l.*; John Wilson, cook, 14*l.* 8*s.* *At Ahmadābād*: Anthony Smith, 60*l.*; Isaac [*should be* Isaiah] Joyce, 25*l.* *At Agra*: Richard Davidge, 110*l.*; Francis Hammersly, 80*l.*; Thomas Andrews, 30*l.*; Joshua Blackwell, 20*l.* *At Lucknow*: William Jesson, 80*l.*; John Burnell, 30*l.* *At Tatta*: John Spiller, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Nicholas Scrivener, 30*l.* *At Suakin*: Henry Garry, 90*l.*; Thomas Cook, 50*l.*; Richard Newland, 18*l.* *At Achin*: Philip Wylde, 70*l.*; Thomas Reynardson, 60*l.*; Charles Milward, 15*l.* *At Basra*: Daniel Elder, 70*l.*; William Weale, 35*l.* *In Persia*: George Tash, 100*l.*; John Lewis, 30*l.*; Thomas Best, 24*l.*; John Goodyear, 40*l.* *At Baroda*: Thomas Cogan, 35*l.* *At Broach*: Revett Walwyn, 35*l.* (2 *pp.*)

THE VOYAGE OF THE *BONITO* TO THE COROMANDEL COAST (*Brit. Mus. Sloane MS.* 3231, f. 1).[1]

1650, *February* 12. Sailed from Gravesend, in company with the *East India Merchant*, *Advice*, and *Lioness*. *February* 15. Anchored in the Downs. *February* 23. The fleet sailed. *February* 27. Lost sight of the Lizard. *March* 18–19. Procured provisions at Maio [Cape Verd Islands]. *April* 25. Lost company with the *Lioness* in rough weather. *May* 12. The *Lioness* rejoined. *May* 16. The African coast sighted between Cape Falso and Cape Agulhas. *May* 26. The *Lioness* again lost company in a gale. *June* 11. Anchored in 'Augustin Bay', Madagascar. *June* 15. Sailed. *June* 28. Anchored off Assada. *June* 29. The *Assada Merchant* came from the mainland, with news that Colonel Hunt was dead and that eleven of her number, including the master and purser, had been treacherously killed by the natives. *June* 30. The

[1] A journal kept by the purser, Charles Wylde. It is illustrated with coloured sketches of coast scenery and plans of St. Augustine's Bay, Assada and neighbourhood, Johanna Road, Trincomali Bay, Cochin, Bantam Road, and St. Helena.

Lioness came over from Assada Bay. *July* 2. It was decided to leave a colony at the south end of Assada. *July* 4. The planters landed accordingly. *July* 9. The *Bonito* sailed for Johanna, to leave letters advising the establishment of the colony. *July* 21. Anchored there. *July* 24. Sailed again. *August* 14. Sighted the small island [Minicoy] in the channel 'betweene the Maldives and the Malabar Islands[1]'. *August* 18. Saw the southern coast of Ceylon. *August* 25. Passed Tranquebar, where two Danish ships were lying in the road. *August* 26. Anchored off Fort St. George, and found the *Lioness* there, she having arrived five days earlier. *August* 28. The *Lioness* sailed for Masulipatam and the Bay. *September* 14. The *Bonito* departed for Masulipatam. At Pulicat Edward Winter came on board. *September* 23. Found themselves off the mouth of the 'Semalde' river. Winter hired a boat to carry him to 'Mathapore, which is up this river of Samaldee[2] about 22 myles and is within three myles of Verasheron'. *September* 26. Christopher Yardley (the Agent) and Thomas Chambers came to 'Simalde' and ordered the master to take the ship to 'Emalde' to trim. *September* 29. Reached that place. *October* 12. The *Dove* arrived from Masulipatam under Thomas Seaward. *October* 30. She sailed for Bantam. *November* 26. The *Bonito* moved to Masulipatam. *December* 19–21. Took in passengers and their goods. Paul Waldegrave, second at Petapoli, came on board as merchant for this voyage; also 'one Mr. Wright, a freeman', who came as a passenger and paid only half freight for his goods. The ship sailed. *December* 24. Anchored in Madras Road. The 'Annabobs [i. e. Mīr Jumla's] jounck, bound for Persia, Thomas Bostock being pylott', passed by and saluted with one gun. (45½ *pp.*)

President Peniston and Thomas Winter at Bantam to the Company, January 11, 1650 (*Factory Records, Java,* vol. iii. part iii. p. 1).

. . . Calicoes cannot be obtained at the Coast good and cheap,

[1] An old name for the Laccadives (see *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 500).

[2] The Samulda River, in the Godāvari delta, enters the sea about 12 miles west of the Narsapur mouth. The whole district has been much changed by the silting-up of the various channels; but there is a village of 'Muteapooree' about three miles south of Vīravāsaram.

unless funds are forthcoming to buy them before the ship arrives. . . . As for purchasing coloured ginghams in Bengal, the only person available there is 'one William Nettlam, formerly left to looke to the Companies house and not fitt to buy or sell, being for most parte every full moone distracted'. . . . The Coast should be supplied yearly with 20,000*l.* for investment for these parts. . . . Will acquaint the Agent there with the orders concerning Richard Cogan. . . . The daughter of the late Francis Mountford went long ago with her husband to the Coast. . . . During the past year the *Farewell* and *Blessing* arrived from Surat, and the *Hind* has been sent thither. Answer the complaints of that Presidency. Enclose a letter received from Netlam. . . . Goods required from Surat. . . . Seizure of Genoese ships by the Dutch. . . . A chaplain needed at the Coast, as also one here. . . . Robert Wright, who came out with the Danes, was taxed by Netlam with wronging him and the Company in Bengal. On Wright's arrival at Fort St. George, Greenhill called him to account but could not find any proof of guilt. Wright returned hither in the *Greyhound*, hoping to meet Netlam; and, failing in this, he induced Peniston to examine the officers of the *Farewell* concerning the matter. Netlam is expected shortly, and the two will then be confronted and justice done. . . . (*Extracts only.* 3 *pp.*)

President Merry and Messrs. Tash, Pearce, and Oxenden at Swally Marine to the Company, January 25, 1650 (*O.C. Duplicates*, 2147 [1]).

Wrote last on April 6. By the *Greyhound*, which reached Madraspatam on July 7, they received some letters from the Company, and others came to hand by the *Eagle*, which arrived here September 27, bringing 44,742½ rials of eight. Rejoiced to be thus relieved in part of the heavy burden of their indebtedness, and trust that another such consignment will entirely free them. Lament the misfortunes of the Fourth Joint Stock, which 'must needes bee to your great discouragement as well as to our sorrow'. Refer to their letter-book for an account of the differences between Breton and Merry after the departure of the last ships. Speaking for himself alone, the latter defends his action in the matter and declares

[1] A transcript only is bound up as *O.C.* 2147.

that the disagreement was never pushed to the point of creating a disturbance 'either in this family or others in forrayne employments'. He will pass over in silence the 'discurtesies and discountenanceings of all men of and towards me in favour of Mr. Breton', and is glad to say that his succession to the Presidency was not opposed by any one. Breton died on July 21 last, 'after he had sufferred under some paine by the goute (his yearly constant disease), though the outward malladie, by an unusuall course, retireing into his body brought him into a feavour and that into his grave, where we left him the next day, after we had conveighed him thither in the best manner we could in soe short a time contrive it.'[1] Breton left his affairs in the hands of Pearce, Oxenden, and his brother, Thomas Breton. Merry was duly recognized as President, and was congratulated by 'your profest freinds heare . . . yea, even the late Governor, whoe was the great worker or instrument by whome Mr. Bretons stay was wrought'. The Company's credit has not suffered in the least, and Vīrjī Vōra, their chief creditor, has offered to lend Merry 100,000 rupees whenever required. Without availing themselves of this offer, Merry and his colleagues were able to remit 60,000 rupees by exchange to Agra and Lucknow for investment, though he understands that at the time of his predecessor's death an intrigue was on foot to induce the shroffs at those places to refuse acceptance of bills bearing Merry's name, the intention being to prepare the way for Breton remaining still longer in India. However, he does not wish to dwell upon these points or blame the dead, though Breton never bore him any friendly affection and privately endeavoured to injure

[1] Over Breton's remains was erected a large domed building (see frontispiece), containing on the west wall a marble slab with a quaint Latin inscription informing the visitor that in this spot is buried Francis Breton, the English President: *qui, cum per quinquennium summâ cum sedulitate et spectatâ integritate functus est officio suo, vitâ functus est. Coelebs hinc migravit ad nuptias coelestes, anno Christi MDCXLIX, die XXI mensis July.* This monument is still standing in the English cemetery at Surat, and is the earliest of the seventeenth-century tombs remaining in that historic burying-ground.

The inscription is presumably from the pen of the Rev. William Isaacson, who had been chaplain at Surat in the earlier part of Breton's administration, and returned thither from Fort St. George in Dec. 1649, by which time the monument was probably nearing completion. The reason for attributing the authorship to him is that the wording was largely repeated in the inscription (still to be seen at Madras) to the memory of Henry Greenhill, who died during the period when Isaacson was acting for the second time as chaplain at Fort St. George.

his credit. It is certain that the Company's brokers, both here and at other factories, did their best to hinder Merry's succession to the Presidency. 'There is a tribe or family of them now in your service, all brought in by degrees by their patrone, Chout Tocker [Chhotā Thākur], our cheife howse broker and linguist heare in Suratt, whoe (since Mr. Methwolds leaveing of India) hath soe wrought with your former Presidents that hys kindred are become your cheife brokers not only at Agra (where an arch villaine hath beene long held in by Virgee Vora) but in Amada[bad], Scinda, &c., and his creatures in allmost all other employments of yours abroad and at home. Neither is there a possibility on the suddaine to dismiss them, without drawing on you some present inconvenience; honnest and able brokers for forraigne employments being allsoe soe scarce that, without some good experience of them, wee may chance turne a knave out at one dore and receave one as badd at the other; yett by degrees I hope you may be better provided.' In all this Merry is merely expressing his own views, and does not wish to implicate therein the other subscribers to this letter. Will now resume the task of answering the Company's letters. Note the reduced demand for indigo, as is only reasonable, considering it is 'declined more then one third of its former price in England', though here this last year at Agra and neighbourhood it could not be got for less than 40 to 46 rupees per maund, and yet was of poor quality (owing to a bad season). Had procured 246 bales, but, in obedience to the Company's instructions, only 100 of these are now sent in the *Eagle*; and similarly, out of 200 bales bought at Ahmadābād, only half have been shipped; the rest of both sorts will be sold at Gombroon and elsewhere. The present year's crop of indigo is excellent, and the price at Agra, &c., has fallen to 35 and 36 rupees; they hope therefore to send home a good quantity by the next shipping, as well as a large consignment of the Ahmadābād variety and some from Sind. Regret to find that the calicoes provided here were considered to be dear. Details of those now sent. Give particulars of the Agra and Lucknow calicoes put aboard the *Eagle*, and of those ordered for the next consignment. The practice of buying them 'browne' and having them bleached at Broach has effected a considerable saving. The investment in Sind was much hindered by the obstruction of the officials at

Kandiāro and Nasarpur; but a parwāna has been obtained from 'the cheife patrone', which it is hoped will 'awe those inferior ministers to better abeareance towards your servants'; otherwise it will not be worth while to maintain a factory in those parts. Have communicated to the factors there the Company's suggestion that all Sind calicoes should be classified as Kandiāro or Nasarpur; but Spiller thinks this undesirable, as there are so many different kinds. Send three bales of coloured baftas bought at Ahmadābād; while for next year they are having 1,000 pieces of 'gussees' dyed at Agra, using the patterns received from the Company. As the latter are dissatisfied with the 'Cochea [*see* p. 100], Carramungah, and Polla cloth' bought on the Malabar Coast, no more will be provided. Can only send a few 'browne dutties'. Of 'chints' they ordered the usual quantity; but it was so late before the 'Eckburrees' from Agra arrived at Ahmadābād ('where they are pintadoed [1]') that these will be among the last goods to be shipped. Expect also the quilts ordered from the latter place. As regards cinnamon, on receiving the Company's letters they wrote overland to Cochin for a quantity, and later on applied to their agent at Goa. Receiving no answer from either place, on November 6 they dispatched the *Eagle* down the Coast to Goa with a quantity of broadcloth (which was all returned unsold). Finding no cinnamon provided there, after a stay of three days she proceeded to Rājāpur and Khārepātān, where she took in a quantity of pepper, cardamoms, 'cussumba', and gunny, and returned to Swally December 20. The *Hind* and *Seahorse* were more fortunate, for, touching at Cochin on their way from Achin, their merchants succeeded in buying 120 bales of cinnamon, and these are now shipped in the *Eagle.* Can only send a small quantity of borax, but will provide more next time. Gum-lac, seed-lac, and shell-lac are forwarded as desired. Cowries will also be shipped later, if the *Eagle* can take them with advantage. Have on hand a large stock of saltpetre, which had been provided before the Company's countermand had reached Agra and Ahmadābād; will put on board the *Eagle* as much as she can take, and then the remainder must either be kept until next year or sent to Bantam. The latter course they feel little inclination to adopt, owing to the behaviour of the

[1] Made into chintz (Port. *pintado*, 'painted').

President and Council at that place, who, though greatly indebted to Surat, sent the *Hind* empty to Achin. Have shipped some Guinea stuffs, 'tapseelaes', 'neccannees', and myrrh. Urge the importance of discharging the debt here, 'where you pay double the interest which is exacted in England, and is one cause why your adventures are soe litle proffitable unto you.' Lament the many losses sustained by the Fourth Joint Stock, particularly in respect of interlopers, 'whoe, by undoeing themselves, have exceedeingly injured you'; but trust that Parliament will secure to the Company the exclusive right to the trade and that then matters will improve. Note the Company's desire for spices; but the Dutch have for years made it their practice to bind down all merchants to whom they sell spices not to part with any to the English; and as a further security they usually retain the spices either on board their own ships or in the customhouse until the English vessels have gone home. 'Some there comes by the by, brought by their mariners and merchants, whoe will not part with them unto any of your people but uppon a confident promise that they are for their owne particular.' Merry declares that he has never had anything to do with such traffic, and he thinks the rest of the subscribers can attest as much. 'And yett to acquire any for you uppon deceiptfull promises and protestations (under your favour) we hold it not our parts, and we doe not thincke you would have us negotiate your affaires by such courses.' Thinking that the Dutch might be less strict at Gombroon, they wrote to the factors there to buy mace and nutmegs and send them to Surat; but up to the time that the *Falcon* and *Lanneret* left that road no spices had arrived, and it appears that the Dutch carry thither only nutmegs and cloves, 'maces being in those countryes of litle use.' Will continue their endeavours during the present year. Grieve to learn the injury done to the Company by excessive private trade in the homebound ships; 'but your mercifullnes to some that make soe bold with you, both in the excess of their private tradeing and assisting of others, bringes these mischeifes on you, which it is unpossible for us (though you will not beleive it) to prevent, lett our scrutiny and watchfullnes be neaver soe intent; for such as will steale private trade on board your shipps have the oppertunity of such a spacious shoare and large roade that, if twenty

Argusses were there watching, they would not be discovered.' 'Dead mens accompts' shall be sent home promptly. For the books of the *Hind's* purser inquiry will be made of the Bantam factors. As will be seen from the books, the Second General Voyage owes the Fourth Joint Stock 575,454 mahmūdīs, while the remains of the former are estimated at 306,215 mahmūdīs. The Persia factors have bought 69 bales of silk, most of which cost 45 tūmāns a load, which is a very high price. However, the silk seems to be of excellent quality and will doubtless prove as profitable as the indigo which it replaces in the cargo of the *Eagle*. Have ordered the Persia factors to buy 20 or 30 loads this year, if they are to be had under 40 tūmāns. Arrangements made for the indigo and calico investments for the next fleet. Note the Company's instructions to lessen the returns to England in order to reduce the debt here. As for the sending home of certain ships, the *Blessing* was dispatched to Bantam on April 28, 1649, arriving there July 2, and from a letter of August 4 it appears that she was then intended to proceed to England from that port; while the *Supply* (also mentioned by the Company) has likewise been sent home by the President and Council of Bantam. The latter were asked to return her to Surat via Achin, as she was then to be employed in a voyage to Johore, Perak, and adjacent places, where broadcloth is vendible at good rates, and tin and other commodities may be purchased; and it is thought that the Company will hardly approve of her being sent home instead. One result of this diversion is that Merry and his colleagues are at a loss to know how to dispose of the large quantity of broadcloth lately brought back from Achin by the *Seahorse*. 'To Acheene we may not againe adventure'; while, though some may be sold at Mokha or Basra, yet it will be 'to an extreame loss'. In addition to this, the Bantam President and Council commanded the Coast factors to send them the *Endeavour*, which had only been lent by Surat to that Agency 'for transport of their new Pegue adventure'; and further they dispatched the *Hind* empty and at a time when she could do nothing but bring away the goods remaining at Achin, excusing themselves on the ground that they had disposed of all their stock in returns for England, and at the same time desiring that she should be sent back to Bantam with the usual annual cargo from this place,

Thus they not only deprive the Surat Council of their serviceable ships and leave them with a large parcel of decayed goods on their hands, but prevent them from reducing their debt. Are aware that the 'whiteing' of calicoes is dearer at Baroda than at Broach, and that is one reason why a preference has this year been given to the latter place. Note the instructions about the sorting and invoicing of goods. 'Your complaints of loss by your Indian trade unto sundry ports wee acknowledge to be true, and we have been often greived at it, and some of us, out of the sence of your losses, have endeavoured their desertion long agone, though out of hoapes of better times and marquets from yeare to yeare that trade was continued at Acheene, Mocho, and Bussora, and for a tryall at length Swakaine was added unto the former; by all which places you have been of late yeares great loosers, especially by those of Mocho, Acheene, and Swakaine, which three had been deserted the former yeare, had not your large remaines enforst a necessity of sending your shipps and servants thither, in hopes all might have been cleared.' These hopes were disappointed; and now it is found necessary to send at least one ship to Mokha and Suakin with the remains from Achin; no fresh goods, however, will be sent. 'Your trade to Bussora, from the first to the last, hath been more considerable and less to your loss in these latter times then either of the former.' Last year the markets there were so good that all the remains were cleared; but, in view of the Company's inhibition, no further attempt would be made in that direction, were it not for the necessity of getting rid of the remains from Achin. Express satisfaction that the Company intends to continue the trade with Gombroon, as it is most necessary to maintain their right to their share of the customs, in spite of the fact that they 'receive scarce the tenth part of your moity'. A factory must also be continued at Ispahān, as the factors cannot without peril remain at Gombroon later than the middle of May; and moreover Ispahān is a better place than Shirāz for the sale of goods. Besides, the presence of the English at court tends to awe the Gombroon officials. The trade with Persia is at present very profitable, owing to the hindrance of land traffic by the wars round Kandahār. They have now ordered a large investment for Gombroon, and trust to make 40 per cent. profit. Admit that the Company have reason to complain of

the great charges incurred in the trade here ; but the chief expense is for interest, and this must needs continue until the Company send out means to pay off the debt. Declare that all possible frugality is exercised, and repudiate the suggestion that the 'inland and coasting trades' have been continued merely for the private advantage of the factors. It is true that 'like Adams children, we thincke few of your servants are free from tasting the forbidden fruite'. Still, Merry himself has not made half the money which some of his subordinates have in half the time accumulated ; and he and his colleagues are fully determined to maintain 'that rule of moderation and honestie'. Have at length got rid of most of their coral beads to Vīrjī Vōra, though at a considerable loss ; but no merchant here will have anything to do with the rest, which have crosses on them. Part of the rough coral has also been sold to Vīrjī Vōra, and he will probably take the remainder. Advice as to the quantity to be supplied in future. Any letters sent overland may be directed to Basra to the care of 'a Carmilitan padree, one Ignatius, an Italian, whoe hath a good report, is a lover of our nation, and will be willing to serve you' by forwarding them. As regards sending home musk, &c., 'amber greece is rarely acquireable, and bezar is at this time worth as much heare as it is reported to be in England. Muske we acknowledge may bee procured ordinarily at Agra, Amada[bad], and other places in some large quantity, and wee wish you soe stockt that you might have such commodities provided.' But it must be remembered that as the amount to be spent is limited, to invest it in such valuable goods would result in the ships being sent home only partly filled. However, they will provide some musk next year for a trial. As regards that belonging to the late Richard Fisher, they acknowledge it might properly have been taken for the Company's account. The shroffs here are still distrustful of the rials of eight brought out, 'which are not founde to be soe good as in former times.' As they would not take the silver ingots at the same price as last year, these were sold to Vīrjī Vōra, who agreed to pay last year's rates for them. The profit on the whole parcel was 15,431 mahmūdīs—a considerable drop as compared with the previous year, due, it is thought, to the overrating or 'overbuying' of the ingots. 'Wee could wish that rials of eight and dollours were

with you acquireable instead of those ingotts, for our trouble is every yeare exceedeing great in their sale and delivery, and the beames of these parts are not soe nimble as we could wish them ; by which meanes, in respect of the pondrousnes of ingotts, something must needes be lost unto you, and that might be reamedied if you were pleased to furnish us with nimble beames of steele and English weights of brass and iron, both for silver and other commodities.' The lead has been sold, part to this Governor and part to the Captain of Damān, at 10 mahmūdīs the maund ; a similar quantity should be sent annually in future. Much of the broadcloth sent to Persia last year was returned unsold ; it was then forwarded to Agra, but found no buyers and was at last bartered in part payment for piece-goods. Have still a quantity of broadcloth on hand here, awaiting encouragement to send it to Gombroon, should the Persian King return to his capital. There is little demand for this commodity in India, but they hope to dispose yearly of a similar quantity to that now received, provided that it be good. The present consignment is the coarsest they have had for many years, and some of the colours (such as rat, cinnamon, and liver) are altogether unsaleable here, though perhaps they may vend in Persia, 'where much course cloth is spent in stockings.' Greens, reds, and violets are the colours to be preferred. Explain their reasons for lending money to Captain 'Chelone'. As regards what is due to Crane's executors for his tapestry, 'the best hopes we had was that the Kinge would have taken it on him and to have allowed two thirdes of the debt ; but this alsoe, after long soliciteing of Assalaut Ckawne, our late great court freind, after his decease could not be farther prosecuted dureing the time of the Kings stay at and neare unto Agra ; since whose remove from thence, Raw Ruttan (or rather his grandchild and heir) allsoe accompaniing him in his hostile progress, noething could be farther done in it ; though when the Kinge setles himselfe againe nearer hand, we shall quicken our Agra freinds to renew their endeavoures, either to fasten the debt on the King or els to prosecute the debtor.' In the meantime they will ascertain what expense has been incurred in the matter. The salt-petre now embarked has been well refined. The sugar also is very good. The quicksilver received they sent to Ahmadābād, where it was sold for 125¼ rupees per maund. Vermilion

fetches rather less and no great quantity is desired. Special instructions have been given to investigate the condition and curing of all calicoes bought. Will await further orders before purchasing Agra taffetas or Bengal silk, particularly the latter, as they think Persian silk will be found equally profitable. Send some Persian taffetas, though they are in rather bad condition. They are better made than those from Agra, but the colours quickly fade and become spotted. Regret to hear of 'the fraught' taken in at St. Helena[1] by Captain Thompson in the *Ruth*, to the detriment of the Company; but declare that they had no hand in the transaction. 'Here are remaining on this coast twoe more of his tribe, to witt, Captain Durson in his *Loyallty* and one Moss on a small ship called the *Freindshipp*. The former . . . lost his voyage and soe wintred the last yeare on the coaste of Malinda, from whence he proceeded first unto Mocho, where he vended some lead and other commodities brought from that coaste.' The Company's factors at that place protested, and this led to a long correspondence. Durson next went to Rājāpur, sold some goods, bought pepper and saltpetre, and then sailed to Kārwār, Bhatkal, and Goa, where he was found by the *Eagle*. Many of his sailors deserted at Mokha and came to Surat in the *Lanneret*. 'Amongst others, his minister or chapline, one Mr. Robart Winchester[2], upon some distaste at his debauchtnes and familliaritie with wiches and sorcerers, forsooke him; and one Mr. John Case, the cape merchant of the shipp, whoe had alsoe a share in the adventer to the amount of neare 1000 pound, being at some difference with him at the time when he was to leave Mocho, he refused to receave him on boarde.' Both came hither on the *Lanneret*. Durson will probably go home from Goa, where he has been treated with respect by the Viceroy and has been offered an opportunity of lading his ship with goods intended to have been sent to Lisbon in some vessels that have not arrived. His voyage must necessarily be a hazardous one, as his crew is said to consist only of about forty Englishmen and a few slaves bought on the coast of 'Melinda'. The *Friendship* came to Goa from Achin, and is reported to be going to Persia;

[1] A quantity of private trade had been transferred there from the *Eagle* to the *Ruth* (*Court Minutes*, 1644–49, p. 279).

[2] For particulars of his career see Penny's *Church in Madras*, p. 661.

'but home shee is not bound this yeare (some say by the advice of the Esquires lady). She hath noe more then 14 Englishmen on board; the rest slaves and laskarrs.' 'Though the Esquires Curteenes people are most or all of them disperst from Raybagg and the Coaste, yett their debts remaines unpaid.' Details their negotiations with the Governor of Rājāpur regarding compensation for the Company's broadcloth seized in consequence of that debt. 'We have hither denyed passes to all shipping belong[ing] to the ports under the power of the King of Vizapore (whoe detaines the cloth), which hath caused the merchants to solicite earnestly that satisfaction may be made'; but they are unwilling to use force, as this would hinder their investments on that coast. What amount will be received for the English share of last year's customs at Gombroon is not yet known; but Lewis complains that he has been much hindered therein by Codrington's neglect and perverseness. Have inquired into the complaints regarding the Agra indigo sold at Gombroon. Hammersly, who has lately arrived from the former place, ascribes the want of weight to the indigo being packed before it was sufficiently dry; while he suggests that the allegation that part was bad may have arisen from the accidental admixture of some of Knipe's coarse indigo which was in the same warehouse. Prices obtained for the indigo. The large expenditure incurred by Knipe in bringing down his caravan from Agra was investigated at the time, and it was found to have been partly due to the fact that 'the ordinary way was impassable, by reason of the want of water, and soe there was a necessity to transport it by an unfrequented way (at least unknowne unto us before that time) through many Rawnaes and Rajaes countryes, where the dainger was found soe great that Mr. Knipe was necessitated to strengthen his convoy from place to place', notwithstanding which the caravan was assaulted and several men killed. The charges were passed by President Breton, and the present writers know of no reason to doubt Knipe's declaration that they were 'just and true'; 'and yett how Mr. Knipe in soe short a time should gaine such an estate as you make mencion of is to us a mistery beyond our capacity.' Of the young men sent out, William Lovell and Thomas Park were already known here. The former, 'being an indifferent penman, we employ in the writeing office, hopeing he may prove

a secreatary hereafter'; the other assists in such business as he is capable of. Anthony Daniel is also employed in the writing office. Trust that the Company will confirm the wages and increases granted here to certain servants, for otherwise they will return home. It is much to be desired that the discretion formerly allowed to the President and Council in these matters should be restored to them. Hopton Martin, being related to Spiller and therefore desirous of serving under him, has been permitted to go to Sind. Thank the Company for the wine and chirurgery chest sent them, but represent that the quantity sent of the former is insufficient. They have 'noe other holsome beaveridge besides that, after our beere is spent, which lasteth not long potable in these parts'. Many necessary items were found to be missing from the chirurgery chest, while on the other hand there were some of little use, which had evidently been 'put into the chist to ease the shopp only'. Enclose particulars, in a note drawn up by their 'chirurgion'. The velvets and satins received will be very useful for presents. The bales of calicoes declared to be missing were duly shipped. John Knell, who came out as 'chirurgion' in the *Greyhound*, died in Surat soon after his arrival. In view of the dangers at sea, owing to the troubles in England, they have ordered Proud to wait at St. Helena for the ships from Bantam until the end of May. Damage done by rain to some of the calicoes. Henry Sivedall[1] has arrived in safety and has been made 'a converseant and companion with us', except as regards their 'most private busines'. He had at first intended to return in the *Eagle*, but has now decided to go by way of Basra and Aleppo. He is 'a gentleman soe well accomplisht every way' that they would have been glad if he could have stayed longer. Thank the Company for the encouragement given to Henry Young, who is an excellent Secretary, though at present he is ill and his place is supplied by John Broadbent. Urge that similar consideration should be shown to others, especially Thomas Best, who came out as purser in the *Lanneret* and has ever since served ashore 'on his pursers wages only'. John Lewis, now chief in Persia,

[1] He was 'a traveller and a friend of the Governor', and had been given permission to go out to India in the *Eagle* at his own expense and to remain a year there (*Court Minutes*, 1644-49, pp. 313, 317).

should also be mentioned; but they are doubtful whether he is willing to remain in the service. Thomas Andrews, who was sent up to Agra last year, is recommended for re-employment at an increased salary for three years from next March, when his time expires. As regards the Manilla trade, they need not say more than that they are confident it would be very profitable; but it could not be undertaken with safety unless authority be procured from the King of Spain. Having now replied to the Company's letters, they will briefly allude to a few occurrences worthy of notice. Have already mentioned 'some obstruction which happened here in the generall course of trade in August last, by occation of a quarrell which the Dutch had with the late Governor of Suratt, in whose time their howse being robbed and some other injuries and affronts done them, it seemes this Commandore of the Dutch had commission from Battavia to leave this towne, that soe with the less dainger the designe for revenge and sattisfaction might be prosecuted; which was breifly in this manner. The 6th of August in the morning, the Dutch Commandore[1] (whoe it seemes had his scouts abroade) haveing receaved newes of a shipp seene of this rivers mouth, pretended to the family in generall his inclynacion to recreate himselfe in his great barge and after to retourne to dyne at a garden neare adjoineing to this towne, whither provissions were also sent to take of all jealousy [i. e. suspicion] in such as were left behinde him. In his company hee tooke his wife, child, and slaves, as also his second and about 8 or 10 more of factors, attendants, and writers, besides howsehold servants and his corpus de garde. With these, instead of plyeing it to and froe twixt Raneale and Umraw, as in former times (more this yeare then ever heretofore, and was a parte of the project), he bent his course downe this river as low as Dumbas[2] (not without some perill at that season of the yeare)' and went on board the vessel, which proved to be the *Haan*, from Gombroon. The excuse made was that he was anxious to ascertain the damage she had received in a storm; and a merchant was dispatched to Surat with this message and a request to the Governor that coaches might be sent down to Dumas in

[1] Van Teylingen's own account of his proceedings will be found in *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvi. no. 514.

[2] Dumas, at the mouth of the river.

readiness for the chief's return. 'It was afterwards knowne that there was litle true that was pretended; for, notwithstanding the many invitacions and intreaties of this Governor (accompanied with promises of righting him, if in ought he were agrieved) for his retourne after he saw his stay by many pretences prolonged, the Commandore kept himselfe on board, pretending the sicknes of his wife and child to be such that disabled them to travayle hither, with many other things, untill the *Arent* arived also, and after that untill their twoe shipps imployed for Mocho the last yeare were allsoe retourned, whoe bringing under their conduct this Kings jouncks from thence, they seased on them when they came neare unto this coast and tooke out of them all the monies which they had on board, makeing stoppage alsoe of large summes which were on their owne twoe shipps, received on accompt [of] fraight; and then sent upp to this Governor in writeing his complaints and demands. . . . At length, after divers treaties by commissioners sent from this Governor to Swally, the bussines was compounded, and uppon payment of 59,000 rupees, which he, the Commandore, pretended was taken, or rather stolne, out of their howse[1] . . . all monies and whattsoever else they had taken out of the jouncks was restored, and he, the Commandore, retourning hither was received with a great deale of ceremoney; though it hath since cost that Governor (whoe injured yow the last yeare in Mr. Bretons behalfe) the loss of his place.' The factors sent to Mokha last year arrived at that port on March 13. Leaving Buckeridge there with part of their stock, they on the 23rd resumed their voyage in the *Lanneret* to Suakin. Three days later they anchored at 'Mozoa' [Massowah], but the Governor refused to allow them to land any goods without permission from the Bāshā of Suakin, to which port they accordingly proceeded, arriving there May 8. 'Here they founde the same Bashawe they left there the last yeare, whoe, before the landing of any goods, renewed and confirmed to them the same condicions formerly stipulated; after

[1] On p. 210 the amount lost by the Dutch is stated to have been about 22,000 rupees, and this is confirmed by the Dutch official account; a considerable profit seems, therefore, to have been made, but not a thousand per cent., as asserted by Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, vol. i. p. 204). The instructions from Batavia were to demand 200,000 rupees (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvi. no. 509). For the agreement between the Governor and the Dutch, see Heeres' *Corpus Diplomaticum*, p. 520, and Baldaeus' *Beschryvinge*, p. 7.

which they landed all, and sold to the amount of rials of eight 5,467 : 39[d.], those marquetts being allsoe exceedeing dead and dull, and the goods decayed.' The remains were left with their broker 'Subgee Parreck' [Somajī Pārak], with instructions to send the proceeds to Mokha (which will necessitate the dispatch of a vessel to the latter port this year). The factors departed from Suakin on July 26 and arrived at Mokha on August 5, finding there Captain Durson. Buckeridge had sold only about half his goods, and those at poor prices. On August 10 Henry Gary and Thomas Cook embarked in the Dutch *Sluis* and reached Surat on September 7, bringing about 8,877 rials of eight in money, goods, the factory plate (eight pieces, worth about 40 rials of eight) and household stuff. Buckeridge was left behind to provide a lading of coffee for the *Lanneret* to take to Gombroon. On September 7 the President received letters from 'the new Governor of Rajapore and the merchants of that towne, wherein the Governor invited us againe unto his port, with assureance of reall and good enterteinment and usuage, endeavouring to excuse the injury offerred you the last yeare in the seasure of the Adventurers in the Second Voyages cloth by the former Governor, whom the King of Vizapore, his master, had displaced and imprissoned for his misdemeanors; and promised allso to worke the King to make sattisfaction for the cloth which was ceazed unto our full content'. With this came a letter from 'your antient freind and assistant in that place, one Vagee Shipputt [*see* p. 252]', who had left Rājāpur for Kharēpātān on the seizure of the cloth but had now returned at the request of the new Governor. The latter had been alarmed at finding the trade of Rājāpur 'in a manner lost and the towne impoverished', as most of the chief merchants had departed, fearing reprisals by the English on the Rājāpur junks; and he accordingly 'writt the story to his master, the King of Vizapore, whoe thereupon deliberating on the matter retourned answer to the Governor that he should reinvite the merchants unto his port, and promised sattisfaction for the cloth seazed on, by paying the one halfe of its worth in ready money and the rest to be deducted in customes, and to secure us a free and uninterupted trade unto his said porte in the future'. Thereupon the Governor induced 'Vaggee Shipputt' and other merchants to return, and got seven

of them to sign a letter testifying to the promises made by the King. Accordingly, on September 18 Benī Dās was dispatched to Rājāpur, carrying letters from the President in answer to those received. Nothing has yet been heard of the result of his mission, but they trust that a fair conclusion will be reached and trade with those parts re-established. On October 27 a caravan was sent to Ahmadābād with treasure, broadcloth, &c., and on November 6 the quicksilver was forwarded to the same place, 'after it was repacked into cocurnutt shells for its preservation.' Of the money, 50,000 rupees were to be remitted to Agra by exchange, and the remainder utilized in the payment of debts. On November 8 the *Lanneret* arrived from Gombroon, having left there (on October 6) the *Falcon*, newly come from Basra. The latter was to wait for Best and Wycherley, who were on their way down from Ispahān with a caravan of silk, &c. Although the *Lanneret* was found on arrival to be very leaky, they decided to send her off again to 'Scinda', to fetch the goods there provided for England and Persia. First, however, after being unladen ('which proved somewhatt a teadious and troublesome worke at the entrance of a new and perverse Governor, with whome we weare forst to contend about some Marreene priveledges which he endeavoured to infringe'), she carried some lead to Damān; and then on November 27 she sailed for 'Scinda' with a cargo of tobacco, broadcloth, &c., returning January 7. She is now being repaired for a voyage to Suakin and Mokha. The *Falcon* reached this port on November 27. Trumball, her master, took in so many dates of his own at Basra that he could not find room at Gombroon for some of the Company's goods, and so left them behind. He will be made to pay freight for these dates, though he objects on the score that they were serving as ballast. Moreover, there was so much ill-feeling between him and his crew that, had not his sickness compelled him to leave the *Falcon*, he would have had to be removed. Finding on investigation that there were substantial grounds for the complaints made against him and that the crew were determined not to sail with him again, the President and Council decided to place John Swanley in command for a voyage to Persia, and the vessel sailed accordingly on December 19. If she returns before the middle of February, she will make a second

voyage to Gombroon, and will then be repaired during the rainy season. It is proposed after that to give Trumball another trial as master, if the sailors can be persuaded to accept him. However, it is not only the seamen who have suffered at his hands, but (as will appear from the enclosed complaint by Messrs. Elder and Weale) even the Company's factors, who are exempt from his jurisdiction, have been ill-used by him. Further, he encouraged his purser, Samuel Eyans, to indulge in private trade and lent him the necessary funds at exorbitant rates of interest ('as 25 and 28 per cent. per voyage'), with the result that when the purser died (during the last voyage) his debts far exceeded his estate. By such means Trumball about doubled his stock every year; 'and all this trade stollen on board by his assistance and conniveance, unto your unspeakeable loss'. Moreover, in order to prevent the ship's company from hindering this private trade, he obliged them all to deliver their own goods to the purser for sale, and after the death of the latter he seized the whole of the proceeds, and as yet has only paid half to the various claimants, though it is intended to recover the rest from him as soon as more urgent business permits. Trumball 'kept his chamber' at Surat until after the *Falcon* had departed, and for a time talked of going home in the *Eagle*. This was agreed to on certain conditions; but as these did not please him, he returned from Swally to Surat and they understand that he does not now intend to embark. Regret to have to give him a bad character, but it is no more than he deserves. On December 15 the *Expedition* arrived from Madraspatam with [the Rev.] William Isaacson and Thomas Breton on board, having left that place on October 3. She had on board a cargo of goods provided at the Coast, together with some 'gance', gumlac, and tin brought from Pegu; and after taking in supplies she continued her voyage for Gombroon on December 23. On her return she is intended to be sent to Bantam (in place of the *Hind*), where she will be repaired. She has already cost so much in that respect that she is the most unprofitable vessel that ever the Company owned. Her 'over sharpe keele' is a great drawback, and on this account her master, John Nichols, was unwilling to continue in charge had the Coast Agent insisted on sending her into the Bay 'to fetch of the proceede of monies delivered on pawnes at

Pegue and sent thither by Richard Knipe unto the amount of neare 30,000 ma[hmūdīs]'. The *Greyhound* was dispatched in her stead to Balasore, but found that Knipe was not there as expected, but was with his whole stock at 'Rajamalle'.[1] The Coast factors were much astonished at this behaviour on his part, as will be seen from their letter to him and Netlam of October 28. Owing to the absence of this money and to the fact that 10,000 mahmūdīs were left behind at Pegu in bad debts (which Richard Potter and Richard Knipe are bound to make good), the Pegu adventure will not be so profitable as it looks. Yet, but for the loss by fire, it would have been very gainful, 'seeing it will now produce upwards of 40 per cent., if all debts stand good.' Enclose the accounts, which are 'kept in vists of gance' [*see* p. 201], of which 'each vest is nearest 16*d.* starling'. The Coast factors have been directed to make over to the assigns of Vīrjī Vōra the remainder of the money remitted to Bengal from Pegu, since it was from him that the necessary funds for that investment were borrowed in the first place and he has agreed to receive part payment in that way. On the 27th ultimo the *Seahorse* (under Gilbert Gardner) and the *Hind* (under Roger Griffin) arrived at Swally from Achin. Account of their cargoes. The *Hind* reached Achin too late to carry her goods to other neighbouring ports, even if she had been at liberty to do so. This might have been done, had the *Supply* been sent thither from Bantam instead of going home; 'for, neither at that time nor long after, the Dutch and that Queene had not compounded any thing, though not many weekes before the *Hyndes* arrivall thither, which was the 21th of August, the Dutch had forct from hir the only trade unto all the West Coast of Sumatra, to witt Tecoe, Pryamond, and divers others[2]; soe that, if it had been seasonable, your trade would have been hindred by them, whoe cannot endure competitors where they are priveledged.' As for the *Seahorse*, she was so weakly manned and her crew 'soe cast downe by sicknes and other wants and hinderances', that she was forced to lie at Achin unemployed, as will be seen from Philip Wylde's report.

[1] Rājmahāl, in Bengal, on the right bank of the Ganges. It was at this time the capital of Bengal.

[2] For the formal contract, dated in November, 1649 (N. S.), see Heeres' *Corpus Diplomaticum*, p. 528

Particulars of cotton goods brought back by that ship, mostly in bad condition; these are now being cleaned and repacked, for transport to Gombroon and other places, where it is hoped to sell them. On the 17th current the *Seahorse* sailed for Gombroon with a cargo amounting to about 5,000*l.* In her went Thomas Breton, who is to remain there for the season and then return to take up the post of chief at Ahmadābād. His deputation to Gombroon is the more necessary because the quantity of goods to be sent thither this season will be much larger than usual. The *Seahorse* is expected back in March, and will then be reladen for Basra, returning by way of Sind. The *Hind* is also taking in a cargo for Gombroon, and on her return (if the *Expedition* be sent to Bantam) she will be dispatched to Basra. Particulars of accounts now sent home. Their debts are estimated at 40,000*l.*, and they trust a good supply may be received by the next ships in order that these liabilities may be cleared. George Tash, the Rev. Andrew Baines, John Adler, and John Broadbent return in the *Eagle.* Tash came out in 1637; he has been employed mostly at Ahmadābād and Gombroon, and has discharged his duties ably and diligently. Baines has likewise given great satisfaction, and they would gladly have retained his services, but 'he had soe setled his resolution to retourne the last yeare with deceased Mr. Breton that Mr. Isaackson (whoe is heartily wellcome to us) was confirmed to succeede him before Mr. Bretons decease'. Adler has been engaged during the past three years in the laborious business of Factor at the Marine, and has discharged these duties so well that they trust he will be re-engaged. As his pay during this time has been only that of a purser's mate at 30*s.* a month, they gave him a gratuity of 500 mahmūdīs last year and a similar sum this year. John Broadbent came out in 1643 as an attendant on his uncle, William Broadbent, at 10*s.* per month, and was in that year left at Mokha as an assistant to the factors. He continued there until this last year, when he was employed in the writing office at Surat. He has been given a gratuity of 300 mahmūdīs towards provisions, &c., for the homeward voyage, and has been paid the whole of his salary to the end of October, 1646. In the month following his wages were raised to 20*l.* per annum, of which nearly half has been paid here and the rest he hopes to receive in England. A passage has been granted to John Case, merchant of the *Loyalty*

[*see* p. 283]. Enclose a letter from him, undertaking to satisfy the Company for his charges on shore here from November 8, 1649, and for his passage on both ships. The minister of the *Loyalty*, Mr. Winchester, also left that ship at Mokha. 'He, in respect of the troublesome times in England, is desireous to take his voyage into the South Seaes or the Coast of Coromondell; and in regard we find him to be a very able man (and amongst schollers reputed a good one) in discharge of his function, and sober and modest in his conversation dureing the time of his continueance amonge us, wee have submitted unto his request in that behalfe, and have promised him his passage on the shipp we shall designe for Bantam, if from Gomroone (whither he is now gone on your *Seahorse*, as well by our request, out of respect unto your people there, whoe have not had any spirrittuall comforter a long time, as his owne willingnes) he cannot obtaine a passage directly for the Coast on some Dutch ship bound thither. However, the charge he will put you unto cannot be great; and if he goe for the Coast and that you send not one out of England this yeare for your Fort, yow may perceive, by whatt your Agent, &c., hath written, how acceptable he may be to them and whatt great need they have of an honest and painefull preacher; and such a one he appeares to be.' If he returns from Gombroon and goes from Surat to Bantam, the President and Council there may perhaps send him to the Coast. However, he has been warned that he must not depend upon employment, and that his stipend, if he is employed, will be left to the determination of the Company. 'The last yeare there dyed at Gomroone a Doctor of Phissick, by name Theophilus May, whoe, haveing been a long time in travaile over many parts of the world, and then intending homewardes by the way of Bussora or Spahan towards the Mediteranian, it pleased God to period his earthly pilgrimage in that place.' The factors there forwarded such effects as he left with them to Surat, and the President has remitted the same to the executor, Joseph May, Junior, of Cornwall. Some wearing apparel and other things since received from Persia have been sold here, and a bill for the proceeds (25*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*, at one shilling per mahmūdī) has been sent to the said executor. Ships' stores badly needed, particularly ropes and salt meat. Desire also a supply of English sailors; they have had to employ 'laskarrs of this place', which

'doth neare double your charge, because these people cannot performe the worke of English seamen'. The *Eagle* brought out a trunk and a box of letters for Joshua Blackwell, who still continues in his apostasy, 'though, by whatt is reported of him from Agra, he is reduced to a poore and wretched temporall condicion; also not like to be bettered.' Some of the goods in the trunk have been sold, and the rest are sent back (with the letters) for delivery to his father, John Blackwell, together with a bill of exchange for the proceeds. John Conway, who came out mate of the *Greyhound*, has been found guilty of many offences and is consequently sent home in the *Eagle* as a quartermaster. Money due to Robert Cranmer. Strong waters desired for presents; 'Heathes[1] being esteemed the best.' A supply of paper needed for books and letters; but 'that which you call post paper is soe thynn and bad that it will not beare writeing on both sides.' Quills also needed, as they are nearly double the price here as compared with England. Regret to learn, by a letter just received from Agra, that the second caravan from Lucknow has been robbed of fifteen bales of goods, estimated to amount 'nearest to 400 pound'. Trust that Davidge will be able to recover either the goods or their value. Should his efforts fail, he will be sent to Court to complain; but this course will be avoided, if possible, because it would be costly, as entailing 'vallueable presents, which we are unprovided of'. At present the Dutch are 'in that motion', and it is thought best, before deciding upon the matter, to wait and see the result of their endeavours. 'The last time this King was presented, he retourned the testimony of his acceptance thereof in bestowing a conjall [*khanjar*], or small girdle dagger, on your President, deceased Mr. Breton, in whose name the present was sent (as accustomary); which, togeather with a ruby sett in a gold ring, the present of the King of Pegue, is put into the chist of bookes and papers[2]'. In the accompanying list of factors and servants will be found the name of William Noke, Mr. Breton's servant, who has been detained for another year at the request of the overseers of Breton's estate, they

[1] From the marginal abstract ('Heaths warters are best') it would seem that Heath was the name of the manufacturer.

[2] Both were put up at a General Court of Sales held on Nov. 27, 1650. The dagger fetched 130*l.* and the ring 28*l.* For the presentation of the dagger see p. 230 of the last volume.

having agreed to leave it to the Company to decide who shall pay his charges. Although the list shows that upon the return of factors from various places there will be 'a large family' at Surat, yet none can be spared, as the factories at Agra, Lucknow, and Ahmadābād need strengthening. Among those who have served many years in these parts is John Goodyear. He 'came forth a youth', but has long been employed as an assistant at Macao, Basra, and in Persia, and three years ago a salary was assigned to him amongst others. Last year he married the widow of Bartholomew Austin [*see* p. 94], and he had thought of going home this year; but his wife being with child has caused him to defer his return. 'He hath his owne howse, though (to free himselfe from taxes) he continues as your servant, and soe he is reputed by others as well as by us, untill yow shall enorder his dismission. In the meane time, as you have suspended his wages by not allowing of our act in that behalfe, soe his family is noe way chargeable unto yow; only he in his owne person is admitted to your table; which he well deserves, and a competent sallary also, being by reason of his language and experience in your affaires very much assistant to us at the customehowse, Raneale and otherwaies.' He is uncertain whether to go home next year, or remain here, should the Company confirm the salary previously allotted to him. He trusts that his marriage will be no impediment, seeing that Codrington, who is in the same condition, has been readmitted to the service. The *Eagle* is now fully laden with a cargo amounting to 574,554 mahmūdīs 17¾ [pice]. They would have reduced the value, if possible, but this could only be done by sending her away partly empty; as it is, they have put in as many coarse goods as possible, such as saltpetre. Cowries would have been sent, had not the master considered that the ship was already as deeply laden as was desirable. Refer to the invoice for particulars. Suspect that there is much private trade on board; but the master has undertaken to deliver it all to the Company. Believe that the piece-goods from Agra will be found as good and substantial cloth as ever was sent home, especially the 'mercooles', though these were expensive. So was the shellac, but it is very pure and good. The 'tincall' was bought at Agra; and they would have procured more, had it not been 'a pondrous commodity'. The sugar, though not equal in

quality to the last consignment, will, it is hoped, be approved. The five bales of 'chints' are made from fine 'eckburees' bought at Agra. They were received at Ahmadābād very late; yet 'they are well chinted', as are likewise the quilts. Of cotton yarn they had intended to provide 100 bales, but could not get the full number of the requisite quality. Broad baftas were too dear for many to be sent this year. Most of their 'deriabauds' have been kept back for sale at Gombroon. The myrrh is a remainder from last year. Could not procure any aloes socotrina. Two bales of 'gussees baftas' sent for a trial; if these are approved, large quantities can be procured from Agra. Cardamoms were so scarce and dear that they have only been able to obtain sixteen bales. The 'dymittees' were also dearer than last year, but the difference is more than made up by their larger size. The silk will be found good and cheap; but the pepper has cost more than usual. Some false rials returned. The President begs that he may be permitted to go home in two years' time from now. 'He hath continued in your service thirteen yeares allready in March next, is now growne antient, nearer to 60 then 50 yeares of age', and for the last two years has been troubled with many illnesses. He is quite ready to come home earlier, if desired, but in any case wishes to be released at the period mentioned. *PS.*—The Dutch *Prins* has just brought letters from the Gombroon factors, dated January 5, announcing their arrival at the port. Refractory behaviour of Thomas Codrington, whose dismissal is recommended. The factors seem to fear the loss of their share of the Gombroon customs, owing to 'the great alteracions in England'. Trade there is likely to be good, though not perhaps equal to last season. John Chambers commended and recommended for a salary. *PPS.*—Tash, Pearce, and Oxenden intimate (with Merry's permission) their dissent from the clause concerning the disputes between the late and the present President, 'there being some things in it contrary to our judgements, other particulars wherein we averr ourselves wholly ignorant, and others being contraverted the last yeare at large.' As to these, they refer the Company to the documents already sent home. (66½ *pp.*)

President Merry at Swally Marine to the Company, January 25, 1650 (*O.C.* 2148).

Though now better, he is not well enough to write a long letter. Thinks it unnecessary to add to what is said in the general letter concerning his dispute with the late President. Expresses his gratitude to the Company for appointing him to his present post, and is glad to say that, contrary to his expectation, he has met with no opposition from his colleagues here. Trusts to be allowed to return to England in two years' time at the latest, and to be granted the use of the great cabin during the homeward voyage, though he desires not the command of the ship, as others have had. Thanks the Company for paying part of his salary to Methwold. Has referred in the general letter to the amount of private trade on board the *Eagle*; of this he has spoken to Proud, who has protested that nothing of value shall be landed without the Company's consent, though he has thought it wise to take little notice at present, especially of the goods belonging to the crew, 'in respect of the daingerousness of the seaes neare to our coast.' Has himself ventured to send in the *Eagle* 22 bales of silk, rhubarb, &c., and begs that the Company will deliver these to Methwold to sell on his behalf, freight being charged at any rate they please. *PS.*—Desires that this letter may be shown to Methwold. ($2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

The Company to the President and Council at Surat, February 13, 1650 (*Letter Books*, vol. i, p. 183).

Wrote more than four months ago by way of Aleppo and Basra, and now send transcripts of those letters by the *Bonito* and *Lioness*, bound for the Coromandel Coast and Bay of Bengal. On December 13 they received the Surat letters of April 5, 1649, and also some from Gombroon and Basra. The *Golden Fleece* and *Aleppo Merchant* duly arrived, but most of the calicoes they brought are still unsold. Those to be sent in the next fleet 'must be well chosen and bought, good cloath, cleane whited, with hansome makeing up'. 'The callicoes which for the most part wee have sold are of the Coromondell makeing, whoe are nowe preferr'd before anie of the Surat cloathing, because they fitt best for French and other forren sales.' Have disposed of all the indigo, and would

be glad to receive 400 bales of Lahore and 200 of Sarkhej. Instructions as to cardamoms, cinnamon, and aloes. Require larger proportions of sugar and saltpetre than previously notified. On the other hand, the quantity of cotton yarn should be reduced. Increase their former demands for piece-goods, 'pintados', and 'pintado quilts'. Reiterate their instructions to dispatch shipping for England by January 10 at latest. The *Eagle* will have brought more than enough [56,322*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *in margin*] for her relading. Since their broadcloth has sold, a further quantity of the kinds desired will be sent. With regard to the cloth seized at Rājāpur, peaceful methods should be exhausted before resorting to reprisals. Will supply quicksilver, vermilion, and elephants' teeth, but no coral, as it is found so unprofitable. If any of that on hand at Surat is 'of the grezzeo sort' [*see the* 1630–33 *volume*, p. 129], it may be forwarded to the Coast factors; also some of the coral beads. Approve the sale of the mortar piece and grenadoes. Will take care to supply the stores desired; and will also provide means to lessen the debt. Regret the death of William Griffin, but think his fate should be 'a warning unto all our people not to medle but where they shall have a lawfull calling'. Grieve for Joshua Blackwell's apostasy. 'If hee may be recovered, retourne him; for never did Englishman in those parts revoult from his religion before, since the first of our trade amongst those people. Be carefull, therefore, over all our young people, least some others may be seduced and tempted that waie, to the shame of our religion. The Dutches undertakeing, both in Gombroone and the Manieilles, wee note by the waie; supposeing they have made conquests enough, if they could be content and keepe that in peace which by warr they have gained. For your parts, wee desire that you should not medle with their affaires, but leave them to such their aspireing thoughts, and applie yourselves unto the good of our trade and prosecution of our busines in those parts.' Hope that the *Eagle* is now on her way back, and that it has been found possible to include in her cargo some spices, cinnamon, and cardamoms. Approve the dispatch of the *Blessing* to Bantam, and trust that she will thence be sent to England. Expect in March next to dispeed to Surat the *Aleppo Merchant* and the *Love* (400 tons). These should be returned with indigo, calicoes, &c. (the goods being equally divided

between the two ships) and a large quantity of saltpetre (refined, if possible) 'for the use of the State'. Should there be any difficulty in procuring a supply in Gujarāt, it is understood that plenty can be obtained (unrefined) 'on the coast of Mallabar and Decan'. Hope to send in those two ships a stock of fifty or sixty thousand pounds for the United Joint Stock. If the Coast factors draw on Surat to the extent of 3,000*l.*, their bills should be accepted. (*Rough copy.* $7\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

JOSHUA BLACKWELL AT AGRA TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT, FEBRUARY 14, 1650 (*O.C.* 2150).[1]

Having repented his apostasy and returned to the true faith, he humbly craves forgiveness for his past behaviour and promises to atone for it in the future. He has proffered his services to Mr. Davidge, who has advised him to repair to Surat and submit himself to the President and Council. Begs permission to do this, at the same time desiring that he may not be sent to England until he shall have obtained a pardon from thence. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Received in Surat March* 6.)

RICHARD DAVIDGE AND THOMAS ANDREWS AT AGRA TO THE SAME, FEBRUARY 15, 1650 (*O.C.* 2151).

Returned from Biāna to this place on the 6th, after dispatching the indigo to Surat, and thereupon set to work to get dyed the 'longe guzzes' received from Lucknow. Some other piece-goods to hand from the same place will be sent as soon as possible to Ahmadābād; 'we suppose on camells, carts beinge of very difficult procury, by reason that the Kinge hath commanded vast summes of money to be carried to Delly, noe lesse then 200 lacke of rupees, and many other things for the celebration of his feast of Norose [*see* p. 101], shortly att hand; whereby all carts are taken up for that service.' Camphor is little in request; so none should be sent up for sale. Can supply 'tincall' of similar quality and price as the last consignment, but, since a further quantity is expected to arrive shortly, they will not hurry to purchase. 'As yett we have not vissitted the tadgegundy' [*see* p. 220], partly because they understand that prices are still high, and partly because it is stated that

[1] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

the merchants who lately carried down goods for Persia have been unable to get permission to transport them thither. However, in due time and season the instructions received from Surat will be carried out. Sugar is expected to be plentiful this year; inquire whether in that case the investment should be enlarged. Their indigo caravan, consisting of 213 camels, each carrying two bales, started on February 3; the cost of the goods and charges to Surat amount to 70,065 rupees, 17 pice, as shown in the invoice. Some of the 'Coriah' indigo (bought by the Dutch 'in the out townes') will probably be found too poor for England, but it may do for Persia or Basra. 'The 8th currant arrived heere five Dutchmen, intitleing themselves ingeniers and gunners, who were accompanied with an Addee[1] from the Kinge. After three dayes stay heere, they went for Delly. Their comportment was very faire heere; and if it be the like before the Kinge, they will winne to themselves reputation and disgrace our gunners, who beginne (as we are given to understand) to differ amonge themselves.' Advised in their last that, at the prompting of Signor Jan Tack, Blackwell came hither from Lahore and begged to be readmitted 'into our society'. This they could not grant without permission from Surat; but they met him at the Dutch house on the 13th current, and found him very penitent for his 'fowle apostacy' and anxious to be recognized as a Christian. They urged him to proceed to Surat, for the purpose of being readmitted to the Church; but this he would not do until he received assurances from thence for the safety of his person and hopes of his future welfare. Have consented to entertain him ('though not in our house, yet in some place apart') until an answer comes to his enclosed letter. Trust that his desires will be granted, as otherwise he may relapse. He was anxious to be employed here or at Lucknow, but this would be inexpedient for many reasons. The Dutch factors urge a reconciliation, and say that they would be glad to get back their 'runagadoes' on like terms. The bearer promises to be at Surat in fourteen or fifteen days, and he should be returned with an answer as speedily as possible, in order that an end may be put to this business. Advised formerly that they had been desired not to complain to court about the robbery of

[1] *Ahadī*, or gentleman trooper. A corps of these was maintained at court, and the members were frequently used as messengers or entrusted with duties of a special nature.

their Lucknow caravan until an application for compensation had been made to the Governor of that 'jageere' [*jāghīr*: district] where the robbery was committed. However, their broker, 'Anuntidas' [Anantī Dās], 'haveinge attended some dayes upon Singe, deputy governour of Muttra under Jaffer Ck[aun][1], after many spetious promises could receive for finall answeare but this, that the towne where the robbery was comitted was become depopulated by the flight of those people that did the robbery, and untill the towne were reduced againe to its pristine estate he could not seeke out any remidy.' 'Calele Ck[aun][2]' has been made acquainted with the business; and the King's 'vaka novies[3]' has informed him of it, with the result (it is said) that he has given orders that, if the goods are not restored, the Governor of the district is to make good their value. 'Aga Ck[aun] [Āghā Khān], fousdarr [*see* p. 130] of this place', who went lately to court, has offered to solicit the King about the business; instructions are therefore desired regarding the course to be taken. *PS.* (19*th*)—Cannot send a copy of Blackwell's letter, because he is fallen sick. (*Copy.* 4 *pp.* *Received March* 11.)

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO RICHARD DAVIDGE, PROCEEDING TO COURT, MARCH 7, 1650 (*O. C.* 2153).[4]

Enclose a copy of a petition drawn up at Surat in 1643 for delivery to His Majesty; but as it is understood that 'all petitions are to bee scannd and new formed, yf not corrected, before they can or may bee presented', it will be advisable to consult also the copy (which they doubtless have at Agra) of the document as actually presented. This will be a guide in framing the new petition, which is to be prepared at Agra, because if sent from Surat its contents will be made known, 'either by the scribes or our linguists,' and the persons complained of will be given an opportunity of obstructing

[1] Jafar Khān, nephew and son-in-law of the late Wazīr, Āsaf Khān, was a prominent member of Shāh Jahān's court and afterwards became Aurangzeb's chief minister. He died at Agra in 1670. Manucci (vol. ii. p. 156) says that he was very friendly to Europeans.

[2] Khalīl or Khalīlullah Khān, brother of Asālat Khān. His treachery at the battle of Samūgarh contributed largely to Aurangzeb's victory, and won him the favour of the future Emperor.

[3] Arabic *wākiah navīs*, 'news-writer.' They acted as royal intelligencers, apprising the Emperor of all that occurred at their several stations.

[4] Another copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

at court. The matter is therefore left in the hands of Davidge, but the following topics are suggested for inclusion in the memorial. Complaint should be made of the exaction of way-duties in various places, contrary to His Majesty's *farmān*; of the robbery of the Lucknow caravan at 'Jettenore[1]', when three carts were carried off, causing a loss of at least 5,000 rupees; of the difficulties placed by the 'Addees' in the way of the English hiring carts, camels, &c., for conveyance of their merchandise (last year their goods were thrown out of the carts and the latter seized); of hindrances to trade in Sind, especially at 'Kahandera' [Kandiāro] and Nasarpur, where the English were forbidden to buy cloth, in spite of the privileges granted by His Majesty many years since; of the enticing away of Joshua Blackwell, who has detained a horse and other property belonging to the Company; of the action of the Surat officials in refusing to take, except at their own prices, the horses brought yearly from Persia and Arabia, 'rather for His Majesties accomodation then for gayne'; of the detention in the Surat customhouse of goods brought from England, which are sometimes kept for two years and upwards by the Governor and Customers, and are then returned in a damaged condition, if the factors refuse the price offered; and of the unprecedented interference of Muizz-ul-Mulk in the domestic affairs of the factory, by opposing the succession of Merry to the post of President. Care should be taken to exculpate the present Governor, Mīrzā Arab, from any of these abuses, as hitherto no 'vallewable injurie' has been received from him. Davidge must also exercise his discretion as to omitting any of the above complaints or adding fresh ones. Now proceed to specify the concessions for which *farmāns* should be sought. (1) Freedom from way-duties between Lucknow and Agra 'in the province of Doorob[2]', and between Agra and Surat. (2) Compensation for the goods stolen at 'Jettenore'. This may be omitted, if the Agra factors prefer to take some other course for their recovery. (3) Orders to the royal officers to refrain from interfering with the English in the hiring of carts, &c., and not to 'lay any tax extraordynary on such as

[1] See p. 294. This place is described in the text as '9 or 10 course from Agra, in Jaffar Ckawnes jageere'; but no Jaitanawar, or any name resembling that, can be traced in the position indicated.

[2] Hind. *Pūrab* ('the East'), a term applied chiefly to Oudh, but also sometimes extended to the neighbouring territories.

shall serve us in that employment (which last clause is necessary to free our Mochadames [*Mukaddam*, a village headman] of Swally from theise Governors, which would have share in the daylie laber of theire cattle)'. (4) The removal of present restrictions on free trade in Sind. (5) The surrender of Joshua Blackwell. (6) Instructions to all officials not to entice away any more Englishmen, with a view to their being made 'Moores, allias Mussullmen'; nor even to entertain any who may offer themselves freely. (7) Orders to the Governor of Surat that, when the English bring Arab or Persian horses, he shall either buy them within a month or allow them to be sold to others: that goods shall be cleared from the customhouse without delay, upon payment of the dues, and that none be detained by the Governor or Customers except upon the immediate payment of the proper price: that the sale of the factors' commodities shall not be hindered by forbidding merchants to resort to them or by denying or delaying to 'chope[1]' their goods: that there shall be no further interference in the succession of Presidents: and that no broker shall be forced upon the English against their will. (8) In the event of any further robbery of caravans, the loss to be made good at once by the Governor of the district. (9) The President and Council at Surat to have liberty to resort freely to Swally without hindrance by the 'under customers', who have been unusually 'abuseive' of late years. (10) Rao Ratan to be commanded to discharge his long-standing debt, over which nearly 10,000 rupees have been spent 'in followinge him up and downe for payment'. (11) 'That His Majestie will bee pleased to bestowe on us for our habittation (whoe have longe remayned in this citty of Surratt to His Majesties greate benyfitt) the housse which wee now dwell in, belongeinge heeretofore unto Noordeene Quillee Bege [Nūruddīn Qulī Beg], for which this Governor receives rent of us, notwithstandeinge the greate charge wee are at yearely in reparation, it beinge very old and decayed.' (12) A *farmān* 'for our free and peaceable liveinge and that wee may not bee injured in our persons or estates'. There are other matters about which representations might be made, but it is thought best to refrain from asking for too much at one time. Davidge is to keep these instructions and the list

[1] Issue the permit (Hind. *chhāp*, a stamp or seal-impression) for the removal of the goods from the customhouse.

of presents secret from the other factors until his return from Court. *Appended:* List of articles bought for presents, consisting of a rich piece of embroidery, an 'embrodered' cabinet, a very large looking-glass, scarlet and green cloth, two excellent horses (cost 3,495 rupees), and a quantity of 'very rich knives': total cost, 13,523 mahmūdīs. In addition, two horses will be sent from the Company's stables for presentation to Prince Dārā Shikoh. The scarlet cloth is still in the customhouse, as the Governor desires to send it direct to the King; it must therefore be forwarded later. It should be presented to the King, together with half the green cloth and the two horses. To the 'Begum' [*see* p. 219] should be given the cabinet, the piece of embroidery, and the mirror; and to both her and the King Davidge may, if necessary, offer some additional articles out of the stock of goods sent for sale. Likewise, presents of velvet, satin, or cloth may be made to such 'Umroes' as he sees fit; but economy must be exercised, as the principal reason for going to all this expense is the hope of recovering the amount lost by the late robbery, and the Company's trade is in too languishing a condition to be burdened with a heavy charge. (*Copy.* 5 *pp.*)

THE REV. WILLIAM ISAACSON AT SURAT TO JOSHUA BLACKWELL [AT AGRA], MARCH 7, 1650 (*O.C.* 2154).[1]

Having seen Blackwell's letter to the President and Council, he hastens to congratulate him on his return to Christianity, and to assure him, on the behalf of the President, that, if he will repair to Surat, he will receive a hearty welcome. As regards his being allowed to remain here for some years, the President has not come to a decision, but is inclined to suggest that he should be sent instead on voyages to Mokha or Basra as a factor. This would be better than residing at Surat, where he would be unable to stir out without being 'subject to the abuse of every Mahometan that knowes your condition'. (*Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT TO THE FACTORS AT AGRA, MARCH 7, 1650 (*O.C.* 2155).[2]

Note Blackwell's return to Agra and his repentance of his

[1] Another copy is among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

[2] Another copy will be found in the *O.C. Duplicates.*

apostasy. Will communicate the news overland to the Company, and possibly to his father as well. Have received a letter from Blackwell, which they are too busy to answer now; they have therefore asked Mr. Isaacson to do so, and to assure Blackwell that, if he will come down to Surat and acknowledge his error before them and Mr. Isaacson, he shall be welcomed into their society again. He shall then either remain here or be employed as a factor in voyages to Basra or other ports, until instructions come from England. If he remains constant in his intent to renounce 'his late Mooreish proffession', he should be assisted to repair to Surat at the first opportunity. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

President Merry and Messrs. Pearce and Oxenden at Swally Marine to the Company, March 20, 1650 (*O.C. Duplicates*, 2156 [1]).

Wrote last by the *Eagle*, which sailed on January 26, and now send a transcript of that letter. Piece-goods, &c., ordered from Agra and Lucknow, for dispatch to England next December. Indigo received or on its way from Agra. That bought the former year was so poor that it has fetched but a low price in Persia. This year's crop, however, has been very good, both 'in the upper countries' and in the Sarkhej neighbourhood, the price in the latter district having fallen to 14 or 15 rupees per maund, or even less. The Ahmadābād factors report that the makers have exceedingly adulterated their indigo, owing to the vaunts of the Dutch concerning the large quantity they are to buy this year, of which they have already secured 600 bales, much of it rather poor. Now that the Dutch have ceased their purchases, the makers have promised the English some of better quality; they are to deliver samples, and, if these are approved, an order will be given for 100 or even 200 bales, the price being as low as can be expected. The piece-goods investment here is proceeding satisfactorily; while funds have been sent to the factors in Sind, in order that a good supply may be procured from thence, as the Company 'stand soe well affected to the cloth of that province'. Owing to the wars between India and Persia, and the absence of both Kings from their capitals, no demand has existed in either place for broadcloth; but they

[1] A signed copy is included in the *O.C.* series under the same number.

have lately sent some to Persia in the *Falcon*, and a consignment to Agra (together with some sandalwood and coral). A quantity of sandalwood was at the same time forwarded to Ahmadābād for sale. Part of the cloth returned from Achin has been cleaned and sent to Mokha and Gombroon; most of the rest will be divided between Basra and Bantam. As regards the cloth seized at Rājāpur, Benī Dās recently reported that the King of Bījāpur, while denying liability, had offered to allow, out of any customs falling due, one-half the price of the cloth (which was about 70 per cent. advance on prime cost); this, however, they have rejected as inadequate, and have ordered the broker to return to Surat, after intimating to the Governor of Rājāpur that the English will right themselves by seizing Bījāpur shipping. This threat may bring about a better offer; if not, they must resort to force. Reported in their last Capt. Durson's voyage down the coast to Goa and Kārwār. At the latter place he landed a quantity of goods, most of which he took up country to a place called 'Mercha-Acculla[1]', where he trucked them for pepper. This had no sooner reached the ship, than news came that Durson had been imprisoned at 'Mercha' (rumour says, for passing false pagodas). Twenty days later the *Loyalty* sailed, leaving her captain in prison and in danger of his life, 'being most unmercifully dealt withall.' The vessel went to Rājāpur, where she still remains; and, as she has only thirty-five Englishmen left (of whom seven or eight are dangerously sick), she is not likely to be able to proceed to England. According to the latest news from Gombroon, Morse was relading the *Friendship* there for Rājāpur and Goa, the Viceroy having, it is alleged, promised him a licence for a voyage to Macao. This is not improbable, for recently the President heard from correspondents at Goa that the Viceroy was ready to grant a similar privilege to the Surat factors; but the latter are 'not in a capassity to undertake it'. Macao is said to be in a more peaceable condition than for many years past; so the voyage may prove a profitable one. Narrate Blackwell's return to Agra, 'exceeding penitent for his abhominable apostacy', and their invitation to him to repair to Surat. Propose to employ him

[1] From Lloyd's narrative (p. 342) it is clear that the scene of Durson's imprisonment was really the port of Mirjān (see p. 162). The name in the text may be intended for Mirjān-Ankola, but no authority can be found for the double title.

for a time in various voyages, but think he will be safer in England than in any of these parts. Request that the intelligence may be communicated to Blackwell's father. They are in some hopes of compensation for the robbery of the Lucknow caravan; as, however, it is necessary to follow up the matter, they have deputed Davidge to Court to petition for redress of that and other injuries. Would have been glad to avoid this expense, but immediate action seemed the more necessary, 'in regard the Dutch are now in the acquiry of many things which you are wanting of as well as they'; while the King's present nearness to Agra was a further inducement. List of presents intended for Court. Andrew Trumball continues his evil behaviour. At a consultation held on February 26 he was examined regarding his private trade and other abuses; these charges he denied, and for want of sufficient evidence nothing more could be done. He was, however, sentenced to pay 1,980 mahmūdīs for freight of the dates he brought from Basra, and was dismissed the service as from November 27 last. At Trumball's request this decision is being kept secret until it is confirmed from England; and meanwhile he is allowed a chamber and diet in the factory. The *Hind* sailed for Gombroon under Roger Griffin on January 31, and is expected back early in April, when she will be sent to Bantam. On February 11 the *Falcon* arrived, and, after some repairs, departed again to Gombroon on the 23rd. Three days earlier the *Lanneret* set sail for the Red Sea; in her went Philip Wylde (chief), Thomas Reynardson, and Nicholas Buckeridge, of whom the two former are to remain at Mokha, while Buckeridge proceeds in the vessel to Suakin to clear the goods left there last year and bring any remainder to Mokha. On the *Lanneret's* return to the latter place, she will be laden with coffee and freight goods, and dispatched to Basra by July 17; from Basra she will go to Gombroon and Lārībandar, and then to Surat, where she will be repaired. On February 25 the *Expedition* returned from Gombroon; she is now under repair, and will shortly be sent to Gombroon and Basra. The *Seahorse* has also arrived (March 9) from Gombroon, and is about to return thither with a fresh cargo. Very good profit has been made on the goods sent to that port, and still more is hoped for, 'in regard this Kings restraint to his merchants from

tradeing thither continues unto this time.' The Basra market too proved last year very good, and this has encouraged them now to dispatch a fresh consignment by the *Seahorse*. ($14\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Received December* 11.[1]) *PS.*[2] (*March* 29)—The above was sent by the *Seahorse*, which sailed on March 24. Since then the Dutch *Sperwer* has brought letters from Gombroon, dated March 2, in which the factors advise the arrival of the *Hind* on February 29 [*should be* 27], but say that the markets are dull, owing to three Dutch ships having come in, laden mostly with private goods bought here from Indian merchants restrained by the King's orders from trading thither themselves. No letters had reached Gombroon from the Company, and this causes great uneasiness here. Forgot to mention before the agreement they have made with Vīrjī Vōra regarding the 10,000 old pagodas which he advanced for them at Golconda over three years ago, for the investment for Pegu. On this debt they have been paying interest ever since at $1\frac{1}{16}$ per cent. [per month], but nothing for exchange. Assuming that he might require repayment to be made at the same place, they wrote to the Coast and ascertained that the rate of exchange would be not less than 470 rupees per 100 old pagodas. Thereupon they induced Vīrjī Vōra to transfer the debt to Surat at the rate of 455 rupees per 100 old pagodas. He has since demanded the same exchange on the interest, but to this they have refused to agree. They heartily wish they were out of his debt, and trust that funds will be sent to clear off this and other liabilities, which entail a heavy expenditure on interest. Codrington has been dismissed the service, for neglect of his duties. Nothing has been heard since the *Eagle* sailed concerning Richard Knipe's proceedings in Bengal, but they hope to have news shortly that he has returned to Madraspatam with his stock invested in profitable commodities. The proceeds will be remitted hither by exchange, unless the Coast Agent can with them make an investment for Persia, to be sent on some junk. The *Expedition* is now fully laden and ready to depart for Gombroon. *PPS.*—Goods on board the *Expedition*. Have forbidden the purchase of any silk in Persia this year, unless orders arrive from the Company.

[1] A list of the papers included in the packet forms *O.C.* 2157.

[2] This postscript (2 pp.) occurs only in the *O.C.* copy.

Adam Lee and Samuel Brown, aboard the *Greyhound* at St. Helena, to [the Company], April 27, 1650 (*O.C.* 2159).

Send copy of their previous letter of February 9, 1649, and now narrate what has happened since. On the 20th of that month their foremast was damaged by a thunderbolt and some men were injured. On March 1 they crossed the Line and on April 13 passed the Cape of Good Hope. They stayed at St. Augustine's from May 11 to 20, and at Johanna from May 30 to June 6; saw the Maldives on the 26th, and Ceylon four days after; and reached Madraspatam July 8. Nine days later they sailed for Masulipatam, arriving July 21. On August 28 they departed for Bengal; reached their destination September 3; left a month later; and anchored in 'Emaldee Road' on October 10. After embarking some goods from Vīravāsaram, they arrived at Masulipatam on October 23 and at Madraspatam on November 6. Sailing on November 16, they reached Bantam on December 14; and having there taken in a cargo of pepper, departed for England on January 12, 1650. On March 26 they fell in with the *Ruth*, and next day both vessels passed the Cape. On April 13 they were overtaken by two Dutch vessels, the *Diamand* and *Oranje*; and all four reached St. Helena on the following day. There they found the *Anne*, under Richard Swan, who brought on board a letter from [William] Broadbent, excusing the departure of his ship, contrary to the orders he had received at Bantam. They found also at the island five Dutch ships; and two more (in company with the *Farewell*) arrived on the 20th, making up the full fleet, which is under the command of Arent Barentszoon, some time chief in Surat. To his conveyance this letter is entrusted, while the English, according to order, await the coming of the Surat ships. Enclose lists [*missing*] of the crews. (3 *pp. Received by way of Holland.*)

John Lewis, Thomas Best, and Isaiah Joyce at Gombroon to the Same, May 6, 1650 (*O.C.* 2160).[1]

Wrote last from Ispahān on November 21. Lewis joined the others at Gombroon at the beginning of the new year. On January 15

[1] There is another copy among the *O.C. Duplicates.*

the *Falcon* arrived, followed two days later by the *Expedition*. Disposal of their cargoes. On the 23rd came in Courteen's *Friendship*, under Humphrey Morse, bringing freight goods and some Bengal sugar and rice. After spending rather more than a month here, she sailed for Rājāpur. A protest [*see O.C.* 2149] was sent to her commander for intruding into this port. The *Falcon* left on January 22, and the *Expedition* on February 2. Eight days later the *Seahorse* arrived from Surat, bringing Thomas Breton to control business here during the monsoon; the vessel sailed again on February 19. The *Hind* appeared on the 27th, with a large cargo of goods; and in her Breton departed on April 1. Five days later the *Falcon* anchored here. Disposal of her cargo. On April 17 the long-expected packet from the Company was brought by George Penn, an English traveller, together with a letter from the consul at Aleppo dated January 30. Finding nothing in the letters affecting this factory (save the provision of some spices, which will be endeavoured), they forwarded the originals to Surat, under Penn's charge, by the *Falcon*; while copies were sent by a junk on May 3. The same day arrived the *Seahorse*, bound for Basra, with Elder and Weale in charge of her cargo. The present letter is committed to their charge. Particulars of ten Dutch ships that have visited this port during the monsoon, with cargoes amounting to 44,500 tūmāns. Nearly all these goods have been sold; and, as the Dutch factors have retained upwards of 3,000 tūmāns in cash, it is thought that they intend to buy the King's silk. Shāh Jahān's embargo on the exportation of Indian goods to Persia, though recently removed, has materially affected the Gombroon customs revenue; however, three junks have now arrived and others are expected. The Shāhbandar has paid 200 tūmāns on account of the Company's share; but every year the English are defrauded more and more, and, unless some opportunity occurs of righting themselves, it is to be feared that they will lose this revenue altogether. Codrington having been dismissed for neglecting his duties, Joyce has been sent from Surat in his place. Account of freight received here during the season, amounting to 151,005 shāhīs; also of goods and money remitted to Surat, 2,777,825 shāhīs in all. The *Expedition* arrived on May 5 from that place, after a voyage of 31 days. The 'tragicall relacion of

the pittifull expulced Portugalls from Muskatt[1]' has doubtless been communicated by the Surat President. 'Nor have wee much certaine to say touching this Kings warrs with the Indian; who not many months since commanded from Spahan a good considerable some of money and amunicion for the enablinge of his advance towards Candahore, which againe is rebesiegd by his enimies. The short tyme hath not yet produced any alteracion, nor have wee intelligence how neere they are approached together. But to helpe the business, or rather increase the troubles of Shaw Abass, the borderinge Usbeags Tarters hath made some incurcions upon his territories, killinge one Sultan, with some others, and takinge a Duke prisnor.' Will write again from Ispahān. (*Copy.* 7 *pp.* *Received November* 8.)

President Peniston and William Gurney at Bantam to the Agent and Council at Fort St. George, June 3, 1650 (*Factory Records*, *Java*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 29).

Will send back the *Dove* on her arrival, as they have no other ship fit for the voyage. Cannot supply any stock, for they owe 24,000 rials already. Enclose a list of goods required for these parts. Will endeavour to send some pepper later. The gunpowder last received from the Coast was very bad. This letter is entrusted to the Danes. *PS.*—The remains of the Second General Voyage are to be turned over to the Fourth Joint Stock. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

Daniel Elder and William Weale at Basra to the Company, July 4, 1650 (*O.C.* 2163).

Sailed from Swally in the *Seahorse* on March 25, and reached Gombroon May 3 and Basra June 3. Yesterday heard that the *Expedition*, which they had left at Gombroon, had arrived 'in this river'. The markets are likely to prove good, as the *Seahorse* is the only ship yet arrived, and no junks are to be expected, since the Persians will not allow any Indian vessels to go beyond their ports. Forward letters from Surat addressed to the Company. On their way they met near Muskat the *Falcon*, bound for Surat. 'The Emam, a petty Arabian prince, hath taken Muscatt from the

[1] Muskat was captured by the Arabs in January, 1650 (*Lisbon Transcripts, Doc. Remett.*, bk. 60, f. 331, and Badger's *Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, pp. xxvi, 78).

Portingalls; soe that now they have not any place of refuge in the Persian Gulfe; and tis to be feared will not long in India.' On reaching Basra they received the Company's third packet; this they will take with them to Surat. 'Allee, Bashaw of this place, deceased 28 dayes before our arrivall. Hassan, his soone, taking upon him the goverment, as yet is not confermed Bashaw by the Grand Sinior, but dayly expects it.' (1 *p.* *Received November* 8.)

Daniel Elder and William Weale at Basra to [the Company], August 8, 1650 (*O.C.* 2168).

The *Expedition* arrived July 7. Have already sold all their indigo and most of their blue cloth; but can only send an imperfect account, as these people 'are verry subject to recant theire bargaine . . . so that, before the goods bee out of the house, wee cannot exactly advise you what is sould'. Count on selling all their stock at a considerable profit by the time of their departure, which will be September 25, though some competition has been caused by the arrival of four Surat junks. The *Lanneret* is expected shortly from Mokha. Forward letters from Surat. (*Signed copy.* 1 *p.*)

President Peniston, Thomas Winter, and William Gurney at Bantam to the Agent and Council at 'Madras', August 16, 1650 (*Factory Records*, *Java*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 44).

Ships arrived or expected from England. Now send them the *Dove*. Understand that Edward Winter has gone to Fort St. George, and that the Masulipatam factors are to go monthly to Vīravāsaram to supervise matters; desire that Winter be sent back to that place and not interfered with from Masulipatam. Passengers in this pinnace.[1] Native servants wanted. Rice and wheat to be sent hither in Martaban jars. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

The Same to the President and Council at Surat, August 16, 1650 (*Ibid.*, p. 46).

The *Hind* arrived on June 20, but is not in a fit state to be returned; nor have they at present any other vessel capable of the

[1] From the master's commission (p. 48) it appears that these included Robert Wright, Walter Littleton, John Osborne, Thomas Bostock, Arthur Seaward, and John James, all described as 'freemen'. Osborne, Bostock, and Seaward had their wives with them, and James his daughter.

voyage, though they hope to send the *Endeavour* later. Ships arrived or expected from England. Goods desired for these parts. (*Copy.* 2 *pp.*)

Thomas Codrington at Ispahān to the Company, August 18, 1650 (*O.C.* 2169).

Wrote to them some time back, accusing their servants here of defrauding them by (1) fathering goods imported by Moors and Armenians, thus cheating the King and the Company of the customs dues at Gombroon; (2) taking bribes of the Shāhbandar to allow him to make a false return of the English share of those dues; (3) colouring goods exported by other merchants; (4) disposing of the Company's goods without the knowledge of other factors. This letter was entrusted to Best, who treacherously opened it and communicated its contents to Lewis and to the Surat President, with the result that the letter has been suppressed, and a complaint sent home against Codrington. Denies the charges made against him, and complains that the President dismissed him without waiting to hear his reply. Unless the present state of affairs be remedied, the Company may lose its share in the customs. A little while ago the Persians wanted to see the agreement on that point, and were told that it was at Surat and should be sent for; if they knew that it was not extant, they would soon refuse to make any further payment, 'because they knowe of the stealthes of your servants in that busines.' *P.S.*—Merry at one time accounted it a heinous offence to colour other men's goods, though afterwards he was the first to do it. Protests against Lewis and Best for the actions above mentioned and their behaviour towards him. (*Copy, with three lines added in July*, 1652. 2 *pp.*)

Consultation held in Fort St. George by Messrs. Greenhill, Brookhaven, (Edward) Winter, Bridgman, and Netlam, August 27, 1650 (*O.C.* 2170).

The Company have ordered the *Lioness* to go up the River Ganges to Hūglī; but, considering the great hazard of such an attempt, it is decided that she shall go no further than Balasore Road, whence Capt. Brookhaven and his merchants are to proceed to Hūglī in some freighted vessel. (*Copy.* ½ *p.*)

Another Consultation held the same day by the foregoing and John Leigh, Michael Yates, and Robert Doughty (*O.C.* 2170).

Consideration is had of the difficulty of lading the *Lioness* and *Bonito* this year for England, as required by the Company. It is much doubted whether the former can in the time available procure a cargo in the Bay; while it is impossible to fill the *Bonito* at once with piece-goods, apart from the fact that such a lading would cost more than double the value of what she brought. It is therefore resolved to send the *Lioness* to Bengal, with orders to come away again by December 15, take in any goods that are ready at Masulipatam and here, and then sail for England; and meanwhile to dispatch the *Bonito* on a voyage to Persia, with a view to her going home next year. (*Copy.* ¾ *p.*)

Richard Cogan [at Fort St. George?] to [the Company?], September 23, 1650 (*O.C.* 2172).

Regrets that he is regarded as 'an enormous delinquent', and trusts that in time he will be vindicated. It is now nine years since he came to the East, and he has learned much 'in adversityes schoole' besides the attainment of languages. Desires that he may be blotted out of the 'blacke booke of misprision' and again employed, when he promises true and faithful service. (1 *p. Damaged.*)

Consultation held in Masulipatam by Christopher Yardley, Edward Winter, John Leigh, Thomas Chamber, and Paul Waldegrave, October 7, 1650 (*O.C.* 2170).

As ordered in the Agent's letter of September 24, the question of the disposal of the *Bonito* and *Dove* is considered. Thomas Seaward, master of the latter, has declared that he would not undertake a voyage to Persia, having never been thither, and being short both of men and stores; while Michael Yates has avowed that he cannot spare either out of the *Bonito*. It is therefore decided that the *Dove* shall go to Bantam and the *Bonito* to Persia. (*Copy.* 1 *p.*)

President Merry and Messrs. Pearce and Oxenden at Swally Mariné to the Company, October 24, 1650 (*O.C.* 2179[1]).

The *Hind* returned hither on April 19, bringing Thomas Breton, sick from the effects of the Gombroon air. After repairing defects she sailed on May 1 for Bantam. Nothing yet heard of any ship from that place. The *Falcon* arrived from Persia on May 6, and on her George Penn, who brought the Company's letter of September 24 [1649]. Penn pretended at first that he had come chiefly to see the country, but afterwards confessed to hopes of entertainment in the Company's service and spoke of promises made to him to that effect. It being too late in the season for him to get away, he has remained here as the Company's guest till now, when he takes passage in the *Falcon* as far as Gombroon, or possibly Basra. Have referred him to the Company for a recompence for bringing their letters from Aleppo; he will probably think himself entitled to the amount they would ordinarily have cost, which is about 60 rials of eight from Aleppo to Basra, and 25 more from Basra to Gombroon ('if sent on a tranke [*see* p. 273 *of the previous volume*] express'). Were glad to learn from the letters of the safe arrival in England of the *Golden Fleece*, &c. Trust that the Surat goods were found 'well-conditioned' and will encourage the Company to continue the trade, as they seem disposed to do, 'tho wee may well beleeve it proceeded rather to keepe it out off other mens hands and from being utterly lost, both to the nation and you, then for any other valewable encouragement or benefitt you have received or doe expect by it in theis troublesome and dangerous tymes, which wee pray God to amend in his due tyme.' Steps taken to provide the piece-goods, &c., desired by the Company. For the cinnamon they wrote to Goa, as Cochin is too far off and the cinnamon bought there is often adulterated with cassia lignum; and the Viceroy has promised to assist their agent in procuring the required quantity. The provision of cardamoms and pepper has been deferred on the chance that one of the ships from England will purchase some on the Malabar coast; but they have sent a broker to Rāybāg to inquire prices, &c. Need of timely investment, especially in the

[1] Another copy, signed by Merry and Pearce, is among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

case of indigo and piece-goods. On September 29 came letters from Fort St. George, advising the arrival of the *Lioness* and *Bonito* and the dispatch of the former to the Bay of Bengal with upwards of 7,000*l.* upon her. The Agent hopes to send her back to England on her return, but cannot provide a cargo for the *Bonito*, which will therefore proceed to Gombroon and then go home next year. With this packet was received the Company's letter of February 13. Cannot understand why neither of the ships advised therein has yet been heard of. The Company's credit here is ample enough to enable 20,000*l.* to be borrowed at any time; but it is impossible to get it at less than one per cent. per month of thirty days, as their principal creditor, whose example is followed by all the rest, insists upon his full price; recently he told them that he would rather lend half free of interest than take $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for the whole. Trust, therefore, that the Company will, as promised, send sufficient to pay off all their debts. Note the objections taken to 'guldars, salloes, ferrattcones, Matchwara and Cochea cloth', and will refrain from buying any in future; also any sort of lac. Have written to the Gombroon factors to buy maces and nutmegs privately, and are endeavouring to get some here, though prices are so high that no great profit is to be hoped for. Could furnish musk, and possibly civet and ambergris; but abstain from doing so without orders, for fear of raising unduly the total of the investment. Will acquaint the shroffs of what the silver ingot fetches; but they each year make trial on their own account of the intrinsic worth of the ingots and bar silver imported. The shroffs now refuse to buy at the old rate any of the coarse sort of Peru rials known here as 'Dockannes', and insist on a new rate being made. Urge that in future the Company should write overland not later than the middle of August, so as to arrive well before the rains. Commend the care of the Aleppo consul in the transmission of letters. Deplore the distracted state of England and its effect upon trade. As calicoes are difficult to sell, it is fortunate that they reduced the quantity intended by the *Eagle*. The quality of those provided this year is excellent, and similar care has been ordered as regards the other goods. Disposal of the broadcloth sent to Agra. As regards future consignments, mostly reds and greens should be sent. Many of the cloths lately received were short in length. Negotiations with the King of Bījāpur having failed to

secure satisfaction, they must now try the effect of seizing the vessels of him or his subjects. Have sold most part of their coral and all their coral beads. Payment received for the mortar piece and the 'granadoes'; will try to sell the round shot. Ships' stores much needed, especially salt meat, 'which cannot here bee provided for dureing [i.e. lasting] any way answerable to that which comes out of England.' Cordage they contrive to make here. They are constantly warning the seamen not to embroil themselves with these people; yet 'quarrell they will, when they are in their potts'. Joshua Blackwell has arrived in Surat, and after being kept 'from our congregation' about a month, has been admitted again, 'uppon the accknowledgment of his sin and promise of perseverance in his Christian profession.' They intend to send him home by the next ships, for his own safety, and meanwhile have warned him to keep as retired as possible. As regards their attitude to the Dutch, it has always been their rule to avoid contention with them and keep up friendly relations. 'Against Manela they did nothing the former yeare that wee heard of. In theis partes they are yet quiett, though they vaunt of expected comissions to arrive suddainly for beginning a new warr with the Portugalls,[1] who are growne soe poore through their unfortunate trade (haveing had little or nothing arrived out of Portugall theis two years compleate) that it is probable they will soone bring them to great extreamities, and therefore they vaunt allready as if they had wholy vanquisht them.' Note with pleasure the Company's approbation of their recent proceedings, especially of their sending the *Blessing* to Bantam. Will follow instructions in relading the expected ships. Cannot procure saltpetre from the Malabar coast in time, and moreover the last they had from thence cost nearly double that provided at Ahmadābād. However, they will make a fresh attempt against next year; but both for this commodity and for sugar long notice is requisite. Will supply the Coromandel Agency with 3,000*l.* whenever required, but at present no funds are needed there. The adventure from thence to Pegu was, according to the latest advices, thriving well; 'the *Dove* being

[1] The Dutch in the East were eager for a fresh war with Portugal, which would enable them to complete their conquest of Ceylon, and possibly possess themselves of Goa, Damān, and Diu (see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvi. no. 509, vol. xvii. nos. 528, 534).

long since arrived at and returned from Siraian [Syriam], where they had sold many, if not most, of your comodities to very great proffitt. The worst of that trade is the returnes, which is allwayes rather loss then gaines, or otherwise the trade woulde bee the proffitablest of any you now have or (since that of Manela) have formerly prosecuted in many yeares.' Send transcripts of the last letters received from the Coast; also of certain documents from Capt. Brookhaven relating to the Assada plantation. The settlers there, after many losses by disease or in conflicts with the natives, deserted the island on August 20 and came hither in the *Assada Merchant* and the *Lioness's Whelp*, arriving October 5. The former is a very ill-contrived vessel; but they are refitting her and intend to utilize her for a voyage to Gombroon under her commander, Robert Thomson. The *Lioness's Whelp* is 'a most despicable thing', and all that can be done with her is to sell her at Mokha or Basra. They had some difficulty with the planters, inasmuch as these were under agreement with the Company; but in the end, with the assistance of Sergeant-Major Hartley, the late Governor of the settlement, all were persuaded to sign a paper renouncing their rights and placing themselves at the disposal of the President and Council [*see O.C.* 2176, 2177], who thereupon engaged them to serve the Company in India on its shipping.[1] There were two gentlemen among them, viz. Arthur Porter, who had five, and Thomas James, who had seven servants; these two, together with Hartley, desire to go home by the next ships. Walter Clinch, who had been engaged for the plantation at 5*l.* per month, has refused the offer of such wages as are ordinarily paid to surgeons, and so he too will be sent home. The reasons for deserting the plantation will be found in the writings received from Brookhaven, which it is hoped will arrive in time to prevent the Company spending more money on that 'chargeable action'. The King's eldest son [Dārā Shikoh] importunes them much to send the *Falcon* to 'Bandar Lahree' [Lārībandar, in Sind], to convoy his junks towards Gombroon, and further to carry a messenger or ambassador of his from the latter port to Basra, on a mission to the Grand Signor. They fear that they will be obliged

[1] A list of the sixty-six survivors of the colony forms *O.C.* 2174; and the names of forty-four of these engaged at Surat, with the wages assigned to them, will be found under *O.C.* 2175.

to comply with his wishes, though they have urged the inconvenience of this to his servants, the Governor of Ahmadābād and the Shāhbandar of Lārībandar. They are ready to send the *Falcon* to carry the ambassador to Gombroon, but they are unwilling to do more. However, 'from this prince wee have lately received many favours, especially by his readyness to grant us his nesshans on his minesters in the province of Sinda for our free and uninterupted trade in that province, where it was much desturbed the last yeare, and by the countenance which hee gave to Mr. Davidge at his arrivall to court (where hee is at this instant), when hee promised all the favour that lay in him to doe for us; and therefore in comon civillity wee cannot deny this prementiond courtesie.' Since her arrival from Gombroon, the *Falcon* has been under repair in the river here. The Governor of Surat gave much trouble, first by objecting to her being hauled ashore so near the castle, and then by requiring her guns to be deposited in the customhouse. At last it was settled that they should be put into one of the ship's boats. Extensive repairs were found to be necessary, and the cost of these has run up to nearly 13,000 mahmūdīs. She is now in Swally Hole, and will commence to take in her lading to-morrow. Have previously narrated how courteously 'Merza Mollock' behaved towards them after Breton's death and during the rest of his tenure of the post of Governor. On November 16 [1649] he was succeeded therein by 'Merza Arrab', though he did not leave the neighbourhood until April 5. In the meantime they repeatedly urged him to clear his debt to them, amounting to 27,221 rupees 46 pice, and he undertook to give them an assignment on the new Governor for the sum, as all the goods had been sent to the King. They then applied to Mīrzā Arab, who agreed to pay, provided that Muizz-ul-Mulk would give him a signed statement of the particulars. This the latter promised to do, but only complied to the extent of 16,635 rupees 64 pice. They pressed him for the remainder, but he put them off until the day before his departure. Then they went to Mīrzā Arab and told him that they understood it to be the custom, by the King's command, that a new Governor should not permit the old one to leave until all debts were satisfied; they therefore begged him either to accept Muizz-ul-Mulk's general assignment for the remainder of the debt or to detain him. Mīrzā Arab, however, refused to adopt either

of these courses, though at the same time he undertook to write to the King's Dīwān on their behalf, when no doubt payment would be ordered. No satisfaction could be got from Muizz-ul-Mulk, who protested that 'his cash was exhaust' and that the assignment he had given them was sufficient; and so departed. Particulars of the outstanding debt. They have urged the present Governor to fulfil his promise of writing to Court about it, and this they hear he has done, though 'very slightly'; but 'such is the deceipt of theis Moores'. Further, they sent full particulars to Davidge and directed him to add this to the other complaints he was to make, and to hasten to Court as soon as he could. Davidge accordingly left Agra on July 20 and reached Delhi eight days later; 'at which tyme Merza Mullock (haveing made a long stay at Cambaia) was not arrived. Soe that in the intrim, after hee had bein before the King, Prince, &c., and delivered his presents, prossecuted other affaires and went on prosperously in his buisines to the obtayneing of theis following grants, by phirmands and otherwise:—(1) phirmand prohibiting the takeing of radarres in the provinces and parts of Porab, Brampor, and Ahmada[bad] (the roade of passage of your caphilas), though hee adviseth us that hee was told by Sadala Ckaune (the contriver and procurer of such things) that this phirmand will not steede us in the Rajaes countries, where they obay not the Kings comands, though in all places elce [wheare] they are in obedience and vassallage to the King it wilbe effectuall. (2) One other phirmand comanding his Governers in Surratt to use us respectively and not disturbeing the free course of our trade; comanding alsoe that whatsoever merchandize and horsses shalbe brought by us hither shall not bee detayned and kept from us dureing the pleasure of his Governers, Customers, or others, but shalbe either presently bought for his use or, if the Governer and wee cannot agree for them in price, that then they shalbe sent to Court, where they shalbe indifferently rated to our content. And for all other things which are not for his use, hee comands them (after customes are received) that they shalbe forthwith delivered into our possesion, that soe wee may dispose of them as wee shall think fitting. And farther that his Governers shall not interrupt us in the sale of goods (as sometymes they have done, to have a share themselves

with the buyer), nor appoint us such brokers as they shall think fitting, but that wee shalbe free in this behalfe. And that his Governers and other his minesters shall presently pay us for such goods as they pretend to buy for his use, and that they shall not at any tyme or for any pretence deny or delay us in the chopping and cleareing of such goods as wee are to transport from hence. And that his Governers nor others his minesters shall not meddle with nor disturbe us in the goverment of our owne people or the succession of Presidents, but that it shalbe free for them to come and goe at pleasure without molestation, unless they shalbe indebted in the cuntry, or any comand from court to the contrary. And that the Governer and others shall courteously and not harsh[ly] and rigerously intreate such as travayle to and from the Marrein of Swally, at which place and on the way it was complained that some late discourtesies and harshness had bein offered. And lastly that wee should have a convenient place assigned us for the repaireing of our shipping. (3) One other phirmand comanding the Governers in the province of Sinda, and more particulerly those of Narserpore and Candera, not to interupt the free course of our trade in that province, but that wee have freedome of buyeing and selling at our pleasures, payeing the usuall customs, then which noething more shalbe exacted from us in any place. Besids which, the Prince hath told Mr. Davidge that hee hath enordred his Shawbander of Bandarr Larhee that hee shall use our people with all respect at the shipping away of their goods, and to take his customs according to the rates our people gave them in, and not to open any goods. (4) One other comanding the Kings Adees and other officers that they shall not hinder the progress of our caphilas or force from us any carts or camells which wee have hired (a late practize whereby you have bein much abused and prejudiced), but that our goods shall have a free and uninterupted transport from Agra and all other places. And further Mr. Davidge adviseth that the King hath comanded Caleele Ckaune, his Buxcee [*Bakhshī*], to gett satisfaction from Raya Chattersale, son in law and heir (of nothing) to Raw Ruttan, for the debt oweing for tapstery[1]; in which the said Ckaune hath

[1] The tapestry had been sold to Rao Ratan of Bundī in 1630 (see the 1630–33 volume, pp. 90, 286). Rājā Chhatarsāl was his grandson and successor.

promised his uttmost endeavers. And farther that the like comand was layd on Jaffer Ckaune, the Governer of the place where your caphila was robbed the last yeare, to make satisfaction for the goods taken away. (5) One other phirmand was enordred to bee written, comanding the Governer of the place where any robbery may bee hereafter comitted to make present satisfaction for the same. And farther that the King had promised that when Merza Mollock arrived to court his debt should bee satisfied. And lastly, that His Majestie had given a gratious answer to all our petitions, though in some things wee feare the comands wilbe unwillingly or very slowely obayed. The Prince gave him alsoe three neshans which concerned our freedome from rawdarres in those provinces where hee had jurisdiction, and on his Shawbunder and minesters in that parte of the province of Sinda where hee had authority, for our freedome of trade.' These grants are 'specious enough in appearance'; but the provision under no. 2, by which the valuation of disputed items is left to be settled at court, is likely to lead to so much trouble that they have sent back to Davidge the copy of that *farmān* (no originals have yet been received) and have instructed him 'to gett it altered or else wholy to reject it'. Davidge writes that he endeavoured at the time to get that section modified, but without success. He was still at Court on September 26 (when he wrote to Merry), trying to obtain payment from Muizz-ul-Mulk, who had arrived about a fortnight earlier, but had not yet cleared accounts with the King. Davidge is very weary of his troublesome employment, but they hope he will bring matters to a satisfactory conclusion. He further advises that the indigo crop is spoiled this year for want of rain, with the result that there is not likely to be the twentieth part of what was gathered last year, and this will be both bad and dear. In that case the factors will be instructed to buy only a small quantity, and that of the best available. 'This yeare there hath very little rayne fallen in all parts of India, and since the middle of July little or none: soe that corne is risen in many places allready to double the price, and a dearth is extreamly and generally feared.' Most of the goods sent to Mokha and Suakin on the *Lanneret* sold at good prices. Philip Wylde returned from Mokha on August 28 in the Dutch *Kewitt*, and brought only 11,085 rials of eight, having spent the balance on coffee berries.

Buckeridge had proceeded in the *Lanneret* from Mokha to Suakin, arriving there on April 21. 'Hee found a new Bashaw, who at his first arrivall entertained him courteously, confirmeing to him the agreement made by his predesseser, but afterwards rendred himselfe a vild and treacherous fellow; for when hee found his present short of his expectation, hee began to grow injureous, and in probability had contrived mischeife towards your people; as appeared in that hee earnestly desired to have his greatest gally, wherein were computated to bee neare 300 men, carreined by the *Lannarets* side; but this being with comendable providence denyed, hee (notwithstanding the agreement) at Mr. Buckeridge departure exacted and forced from him custome for the remaynes of goods unsold, insteed of restoreing it.' In revenge the English, after leaving the port on June 14, captured one of the Bāshā's ships from which they took sufficient coffee to recompense them for the amounted extorted, and then released the vessel. Having now cleared themselves from that 'base, chargeable and unproffitable place', it is not their intention to have any further dealings with Suakin. The *Lanneret* reached Mokha on June 27 and sailed again on July 18, leaving some baftas, &c., with the broker's brother for sale. Besides freight goods she brought away a quantity of coffee; and Reynardson and Buckeridge embarked in her. It is hoped that by this time she has reached 'Sinda' and is taking in the goods there provided for England. On arrival here she too must be repaired. The *Expedition* and *Seahorse* are ordered to return direct to Swally from Basra, unless they happen to procure at the latter place some freight for 'Sinda'. Nothing heard from the Basra factors. Most of the goods sent to Gombroon sold at very favourable rates. None will be provided for that place this monsoon, except some cloth they have on hand; yet a residence must necessarily be maintained, and that a chargeable one ('for Persia will not admitt of other'). After all, the gains there, the English being free of customs, are greater than at Mokha or Basra. To these two places they propose to dispatch some of the smaller vessels with freight goods, to winter there and return with a like lading; but no adventure will be sent on account of the Company, unless fresh orders are received from home. It is expected that the restraint of trade with Gombroon last year has

considerably decreased the customs revenue there; though it is understood that five Surat junks (including the *Ganjāwar*, belonging to the Mogul) were intercepted on their way to Kung and Basra by 'a fleete of trankees and frigatts of the King of Persias', and forced into Gombroon, where their goods were so overrated that they paid nearly twenty per cent. customs, which must have increased the port revenues considerably. This occurred at the end of May or beginning of June. The Persia factors complain more and more of the way they are defrauded of their share of the customs; but force is the only effective remedy, and this the Company will not permit. Have therefore instructed the factors to keep on good terms with the officials and to be very diligent in their attendance at the customhouse. Should the King return to Ispahān, it will be necessary to offer presents to him and his 'Ettaman Dowlett'. The factors have been instructed to make suit at the same time for any concessions that may be desired, including the matter of the Company's house at Gombroon, the lease of which has now expired. This building it is hoped to obtain, either free or at a reasonable rent; if not, the factors will petition for some other convenient house, or, failing that, for ground to build one upon. It is thought that the cost would not be more than three or four years' rent, and there would be many advantages. The Persia factors have been directed to advise the Company overland of the disposal of the *Expedition's* cargo and other matters. Captain Durson, who was imprisoned about March or April last, escaped by some means yet unknown. In July he had only twenty-seven Englishmen in his ship, the *Loyalty*, including several who were desperately sick; so it is doubtful whether he will be able to carry the vessel home. Morse in the *Friendship* voyaged from Gombroon to Rājāpur, where he sold his rūnās to 'Vagge Shiput' [*see* p. 252]. A dispute ensuing, Morse with some of his crew assaulted that merchant's house, killing three natives and wounding many others, including Bhājī Shivpat himself. The Governor thereupon collected some men and, intercepting Morse and his sailors, took away from them the money they were carrying off, and put them in irons; after which he seized everything that was in Morse's house in the town, to the value of 5,000 pagodas 'or 2,000*l.* starling', and reported the whole matter to the King of Bījāpur. The latter

directed that the money and goods should be sent to Court and that the prisoners should be transferred to 'a castle of his at Kelva, about 12 miles within the land'. There the purser and sailors remain in great misery; but Morse himself escaped, and wrote not long since to Surat asking for assistance in recovering his men. On the 17th current news came that he in the *Friendship*, after vainly lying in wait for the Bījāpur junks returning from the Red Sea, had attacked and burnt 'Jettapore[1]', though the inhabitants had had time to escape with most of their valuables. It is said that the only English remaining on board his ship are two men and three boys. The vessel sent by the Portuguese to China last year has now returned, bringing a small cargo and news that 'the country is full of troubles, the Tarter continueing there invasion or rather progression into the country, a great parte whereof they have overrun; which causeth a great scarcity, as well of comodities as all things elce. It hath bein advised some months since by such as live in Goa (though the Portugall devulge it not) how that neare unto Mussombique two gallions sett forth from Lisbo this last yeare were cast away, their ladeing and one of their vessells wholy lost, with many of their men; and that the gallion which went from Goa towards Europe in January last is likewise cast away.' The Portuguese have had very ill success in their trade of late, and are in no condition to engage in a fresh war with the Dutch. Since his dismissal, Trumball has been living in Surat, without coming near the English factory, even for devotions, except on the occasion now to be narrated. About six years ago [*see the last volume*, p. 204] Deodāsī, the Company's broker at Broach, was fined and dismissed from his post for defrauding them; and his duties were thereupon entrusted to 'Hera Vora' [Hīrā Vōra], who had been the instrument of exposing his knavery. This man is 'son to Assa Vora [Āsā Vōra], a Parsee', and is one of the principal merchants in Broach. For some time accusations have been brought against him by 'Vetchrash', son of Deodāsī, but little notice was taken of them, as they were thought to be due to 'mere mallice'. However, last June Hīrā Vōra came to Surat and brought for examination full accounts from the time of his appointment; and thereupon his accuser was asked to make good his offer of deposit-

[1] Jaitāpur, the port of Rājāpur.

ing 10,000 mahmūdīs, to be forfeited should he fail to prove his charges. This his representatives demurred to do, and instead enlisted the help of Trumball, who then came to the factory to present an abstract of the allegations. The President and Council 'gently reproved' him for interfering in the matter and required him to hand over a writing he said he had received from the complainants, undertaking to pay the sum demanded, in the event of failing to prove the charges. This he promised to fetch, but failed to do so and returned defiant answers to further demands for the document. At last he sent it, casting it down at the door of the factory; when upon examination it turned out to be an obligation already refused as insufficient. Since then Trumball has caused further trouble about his brother Thomas, a sailor in the *Falcon*, who, having while in drink abused and struck one of the mates, hid himself for fear of punishment, but was discovered, pardoned, and sent down to Swally to join his ship. Thereupon Andrew Trumball wrote a peremptory and threatening letter (enclosed[1]), for which he will be called to account when the next fleet arrives. As 'Vetchrash' would neither deposit the required sum nor produce details of his accusations, they went through Hīrā Vōra's accounts and, after objecting to certain items, permitted him to return to Broach. They believe him to be perfectly honest and are persuaded that he has undertaken the work 'more for the reputation of it in that place then the benefitt hee receiveth'. Thomas Breton has been sent to Ahmadābād as chief. Some loss has been sustained by a few bales of calico getting wet on their way down, but most of the damaged pieces can be converted into 'cannakeens and other sorts of clothing'. Merry reminds the Company of his desire to go home, as he finds by his late sickness that 'India sutes not with the constetution of English men after they are 50 years of age'. The *Falcon* will sail to-morrow morning, and until then this letter will be kept open in hopes of the arrival of the expected fleet. Account of goods laden in the *Falcon*.[2] (*Signed copy.* 40 *pp.*)

[1] See *O.C.* 2178. In it Trumball demands that his brother should be allowed to proceed to England instead of rejoining the *Falcon*.

[2] *O.C.* 2180 is a list of letters, &c., forwarded in the ship, and received in London June 24, 1651.

Consultation held in Surat by the President and Council, November 15, 1650 (*O.C.* 2181).

Two ships being expected from England, it is debated what goods should be provided for their return cargoes, especially as the quantity of saltpetre procurable is not so great as was expected, while no sugar of the requisite quality is available. It is decided to order the provision of seedlac, shellac, olibanum, aloes, cowries, borax, and other drugs, besides a quantity of brown dutties. The broker Benī Dās is to be sent to Rāybāg for pepper, cardamoms, and saltpetre; while Goodyear is to proceed to Goa in the *Expedition* to receive the cinnamon promised by the Viceroy and to buy some cassia lignum. It is further resolved that the *Assada Merchant* shall be employed in voyaging to Gombroon, until it is time to dispatch her towards Madagascar to await the next fleet from England, which will probably bring supplies for Assada, the Company being ignorant of the abandonment of that plantation. She will also carry some goods suitable for sale on the African coast, to be exchanged for commodities vendible here. The *Falcon* and *Expedition* are to make voyages to Gombroon; while the *Seahorse*, when repaired, after one similar voyage, will be sent to Basra. The *Lanneret*, on arrival, will likewise be repaired, and then will sail for Mokha, returning later by way of Basra or Gombroon. The pinnace *Lioness's Whelp* is to be sold at either Mokha or Basra. Details of goods to be provided at Agra and Lucknow. The 'Sinda' investments have already been ordered. Commodities to be provided at Ahmadābād and Surat for the Basra market. Gilbert Gardner, in consideration of his age and long service, is allowed to return to England, John Swanley succeeding him in the command of the *Seahorse*. ($3\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

President Merry and Edward Pearce at Surat to the Company, November 19, 1650 (*O.C.* 2182).

On the 11th current arrived the *Expedition* and *Seahorse*, bringing the brief letter sent by the Company via Aleppo under date of May 6. From this it was learned that the two ships dispatched on April 8 had been detained by contrary winds in the Downs and off the Isle of Wight until at least the end of that month; and so

it is feared that either they have lost their monsoon altogether or they will arrive so late that they must return at a dangerous season. Were they the Company's own vessels, it would be advisable to keep them another year in these seas; but as they are freighted, this is scarcely likely to be feasible. The absence of detailed instructions for the return cargoes (except that these are to comprise a larger proportion of coarse goods, such as sugar and saltpetre) has caused much perplexity. Detail the steps resolved upon [*see p.* 327]. The *Expedition* will sail to-morrow for Goa, and on her way will land Benī Dās at Rājāpur; though it is feared that his operations there will be much interfered with by the proceedings of Morse, who in September last seized two Bījāpur junks, one belonging to Khārepātān and the other to 'Achara [1]', and carried them to the bar of Goa, where he is holding them as security for the return of his men and goods. Steps taken to procure saltpetre and sugar from Ahmadābād; also to provide drugs, dutties, &c., in this place. Point out the advisability of sending earlier notice from England of the tonnage likely to be available, especially when freighted ships are employed. Note that the two vessels expected will bring cargoes of 60,993*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, as also 9,149*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* in bullion on account of the Second General Voyage; the latter sum, however, will be nearly 3,000*l.* short of the debt on account of that stock. Trust that money will now be furnished to clear off the debt of the Fourth Joint Stock. It is strange that no ship has been sent hither from Bantam either this year or last, but the explanation may be that those markets are already cloyed with Indian goods brought by the Dutch. The commanders of homegoing vessels will be warned to be very careful when they reach English waters, for fear of attack or betrayal. Davidge writes from Court that he has recovered most of Muizz-ul-Mulk's debt and hopes to receive the rest within a few days; then he will return to Agra. The originals of the *farmāns* and *nishāns* relating to Sind he has sent hither (whence they have been forwarded to that province), and the one for Surat is to follow when altered; but the rest he has been instructed to keep at Agra, 'as more proper for their use there then oures.' Errors in the account of the freight carried by the *Falcon*. Cargoes and freights brought by the *Sea-*

[1] Achra, about 20 miles south of Viziadrūg.

horse and *Expedition* from Basra. The *Lanneret*, on its way back from that port, called at Kung and Gombroon, and left the latter place for Lārībandar on October 12; she is expected here daily. At the arrival of the *Seahorse*, the Basra markets were so 'quick and profitable' that more than half her cargo was soon disposed of, and during the season the sales amounted to 57,425 rials of eight. On Elder's departure (September 25), he left Weale behind with goods to the value of about 5,000 rials. These the latter hoped to sell to some merchants then expected; after which he was to proceed to Gombroon on a Surat junk, and then come on in the next ship. Encouraged by the success of last season, the President and Council propose to make a similar venture next February, in the hope to be again first in the field (except for two vessels intended thither by the Dutch). The Persia markets have also proved good, as the factors have doubtless advised direct. When the ships left Gombroon, Best was alone there, Joyce having died in May last, while on his way to Ispahān. The amount received for this year's share of the Gombroon customs was 612½ tūmāns. Broadcloth was in no demand; but the factors had some hopes of selling part during the cold season, as the markets had been quickened by the arrival of the King at Ispahān on August 14. If so, the cost of the presents given to him and to the Itimād-uddaula will be in part recouped. Complaints from those factors regarding certain piece-goods received from the Coromandel Coast. A fresh investment for Persia has been ordered in Agra, Lucknow, and 'Sinda'. The *Assada Merchant* sailed for Gombroon on November 2. Plans for the future employment of her and of the other vessels [*see* p. 327]. Gardner replaced by Swanley. On the arrival of the ships from Basra much discussion arose about the coarse rials they brought, the shroffs refusing to accept them at the old rate of 202¼ rupees per hundred. The President and Council told the Governor that unless they got the same rate for these as for other rials, they would not bring any money hither but would dispose of it at Cambaya or elsewhere; and thereupon he undertook that, if the English would bring up their rials, he would either force the shroffs to take them at the usual rate or else permit their re-embarkation custom free. The money has been landed accordingly to-day. The 'sapettas' [Hind. *sampatī*, a box] in

which it was stored were so rotten that it is to be feared some coins have been lost; while the rials themselves are so bad that the shroffs will certainly be losers. It is a pity that the factors should be obliged to accept such money, but no other is current at Basra or Mokha except gold, which is commonly as dear. The round shot on hand will probably be bought by the Portuguese of Damān, who are afraid that the war with the Hollanders will be renewed. List of goods landed here by three Dutch ships from Batavia.[1] These have all been bought by Vīrjī Vōra and 'their sheroffe Moandass' [Mohan Dās]; so there is no chance of purchasing any spices from them, directly or indirectly, and the Company would probably not approve of buying some at second hand. Understand that Barnard, the Consul at Aleppo, has resigned his post and returned to England; he gives his successor, Riley, a very good character, and the latter has promised his best assistance in forwarding letters. Vīrjī Vōra has just brought a letter from Morse, dated October 21, by which it appears that he has made prize of a Malabar frigate, though she had a pass from this factory. Vīrjī Vōra has some goods in her, and it seems that his agent at Goa has complained to the Viceroy, with the result that Morse has written the present letter, in which he appears to offer to restore the goods 'uppon our intreaties'. They cannot refuse to help Vīrjī Vōra, and so they must write Morse 'in a smoother dialect then wee could well afoard him that hath thus dishonoured us, and not onely us but the nation and you, by such depredations as will make us odious to theis people'. When he has made restitution, they mean to record a formal protest against him; and they trust that the Company will lay the matter before the State, with a view to steps being taken to restrain such irregular trading. *PS.*—Have forborne to send any coral to Rājāpur, because of the danger of landing it, while the broker declares that no merchants will come aboard to buy, 'in regard there are none nearer then Carrapatan, Rajapore being a poore port and not a merchant in it.' 'Wee beleeve you are not ignorant of the cause why wee give passes to tradeing Mallavars, which is at the request of this Governer, who think[s] it unreasonable that wee should hinder any trade unto the

[1] Including 20 maunds of 'chaw', i.e. tea (Chinese *chhā*). Some years before Mandelslo had noted that this beverage was used in the English factory at Surat.

Kings port, nor will not suffer it without complayneing to the King, which might bee of evill consequence; and therefore for many yeares contineuance your President and Councell have given passes to these Governers for such of that nation as are traders hither; though, least wee should bee deceived and give our passes to robbers insteede of merchants, wee have perswaded this Governer, Merza Arrabb, to nominate none unto us but such as shalbe knowne to Virgee Vora (the onely trader with them), who informes unto whome wee may without danger give our passes; which alsoe are of force noe farther then betweene this and Basseene, for soe farr the Kinge of Indiaes power extendeth, and from thence it is taken to bee the Mallavars coast.' (10½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD AT SWALLY MARINE BY THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, DECEMBER 7, 1650 (*O.C.* 2183).

The *Love* and *Aleppo Merchant* having arrived on the 4th current, it is decided to keep the silver ingots on board until samples have been cut off and assayed at Surat; this is done in the hope of getting better terms from the shroffs, who will be afraid of their being carried for sale to Cambaya or elsewhere. The rials, &c., are to be sent up to Surat, together with the elephants' teeth and quicksilver; but the broadcloth is to be kept at the Marine for the present. It is resolved to purchase for use in the factories (the two pipes of wine sent by the Company being insufficient) 3½ pipes of wine (whereof more than a half must be bestowed on the Governor of Ahmadābād and other servants of the King), 5 butts of beer ('our usuall quantety'), a quarter cask of 'Allicant' (for sick men, &c.), a quarter cask of vinegar, and 10 gallons of sweet oil. After consulting the commanders of the two ships, it is agreed that the goods already provided for will be insufficient to lade both vessels, and therefore it is determined to send home only the *Love*, and detain the *Aleppo Merchant* until next year, it being expected that meantime, by voyages to Persia and the Coast, she will earn enough to defray the expense of her demurrage. The *Lanneret* is to be sent to Damān for repair, as this will be cheaper than doing the work in Surat River, where no more vessels will be refitted until a less dangerous and chargeable place be assigned for that purpose. Finally, as the

Company have approved an annual voyage to Mokha, it is decided to enlarge the investment accordingly. (2 *pp.*)

William Netlam at Balasore to the Company, December 12, 1650 (*O.C.* 2185 [1]).

In the Company's letter received at Fort St. George on August 23, he is required to explain the deficiencies found in several bales of cloth sent home by the *Bonito*. Avers that the cloth, as bought, was put into the warehouse, the key of which was kept by Leaver, whose servant assisted Netlam in sorting and packing each bale. Leaver will doubtless corroborate this, and must be held responsible. Mr. James Birkdale [the master of the *Bonito*] can also confirm these statements. (1 *p.* *Received in the* Lioness, *July* 25, 1651.)

Instructions from Capt. Brookhaven to Messrs. James Bridgman, Edward Stephens, William Blake, and Francis Taylor, December 14, 1650 [2] (*O.C.* 2186).

Their first object is to be 'the advancement of the glory of God', which will best be done by taking care of their own behaviour and actions. The Company being desirous to extend and improve its trade in Orissa and Bengal, they are to do their best to learn how this trade may most profitably be carried on, especially in saltpetre, silk, and sugar. For this purpose every effort should be made to sell speedily the goods remaining in the factory, in order to obtain funds for investment. Patna being generally acknowledged to be the best place for saltpetre, an endeavour should be made to procure a supply from thence, 'wherein you may make use of W. V.,[3] who you know is able to informe you.' In arranging matters, an opportunity should be afforded him of making some profit thereby, in order to encourage him. At least half their stock should be invested in this commodity, refining it at Hūglī. Should the factors run

[1] There is a copy among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

[2] Dated at Balasore. This document has been printed in Sir Henry Yule's *Diary of Sir William Hedges*, vol. iii. p. 184.

[3] Yule read these initials as W. B., and thought they might refer either to Blake (one of the factors addressed) or to William Bevis, mentioned in a later letter; but that the text is right is shown by a reference to the same individual in *O.C.* 2208 as 'W. V. the Dutchman'. Possibly the references are to Willem Volger, who is mentioned in the *Hague Transcripts* (series i. vol. xviii. no. 550) as serving in Bengal in 1653. The reason for concealing his full name is obvious.

into debt, it should be only for saltpetre; but it would be well to avoid this, at least without sanction from Fort St. George, interest being so high. As regards silk, full information should be obtained regarding its manufacture and trade. Probably 'the order of the Dutch is very good'. The best way will be to make three sorts, head, belly, and foot, and try washing the same at Hūglī or elsewhere. A maund of each sort should then be sent home, with particulars of cost, &c. About three-eighths of their stock may be invested in this commodity. Sugar being procurable in many places, a small trial should be made in each. Herein it would be well to inquire secretly into the methods of the Dutch. It is stated that what they bought last at Patna is well approved; so a quantity should be procured from thence by the same means as the saltpetre. 'You know how necessary it will bee for the better carrying on the trade of these parts to have the Princes firman, and what Mr. Gabriel Boughton, chirurgion to the Prince, promiseth concerneing the same. To putt matters out of doubt, it is necessary that you forthwith after our departure, and the settlement of busines here and at Hukely, proceed to Rajamall with one Englishman to accompany you; where being come, consult with Mr. Boughton about the busines, who hath the whole contents of the Dutches last firman, and together endeavour if possible that, according to Mr. Boughtons promise, the Company may have such a firman granted as may outstrip the Dutch in point of privilege and freedome, that soe they may not have cause any longer to boast of theirs. You know what I have written to Mr. Boughton about it, who without doubt will bee very faithfull in the busines and strive that the same may bee procured with as little charge as may bee to the Company, knowing that the lesse the charge is, the more will bee his reputation, according to his owne advice in his last unto mee.' What is to be presented or expended in this business should be settled by joint consent, but due economy should be exercised. The Agent at Fort St. George will no doubt send further instructions and a supply of goods, in accordance with his promise. As the two assistants, Blake and Taylor, have no settled salaries, they may be allowed five or six pounds yearly for clothes until further order. The accusations against 'Narrand' [Narāyan], the Company's broker, having been found baseless, he is to be continued in his place. 'The trade of Ballasor being now carryed on

in rupees morees[1],' their operations must be continued 'in the same specie'. They should keep on good terms with the Governors of Balasore and Hūglī and with all other friends of the English. The Company must not be put to any unnecessary expense by building or repairing houses or by keeping many servants. All matters of importance should be made known to the whole staff. Either the factors or 'Narrand' [Narāyan] should 'procure a donation of that land on the west side of the Dutch house and soe downe to the river and the small creeke; soe that, in case the Company resolve to enlarge their trade here, they may there build a mansion house and a house for refineing of peter close by the river.' A trench should then be dug round the ground thus acquired, at a cost of five or six rupees, to serve as a boundary. It is understood that the 'Nabbab of Cattacke[2]' is to come down this way; if so, he should be presented with some fine cloth to the value of about ten pounds, and a swordblade or two. For other matters refers them to the instructions expected from Fort St. George. (*Copy.* 2½ *pp.*)

RICHARD DAVIDGE AT DELHI TO [THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT SURAT], DECEMBER 14, 1650 (*O.C.* 2187).

Wrote last on November 30, sending an invoice of the recent caravan and copies of his books of account. Now replies to their letter of November 8, received December 1. Has had much trouble with Muizz-ul-Mulk. It is nearly a month since the latter was ordered by Sadullah Khān to settle the debt at once, and in hopes of getting the money Davidge submitted to certain deductions; but he has been put off from day to day to his great vexation.[3] Meanwhile Muizz-ul-Mulk has won over Sadullah Khān to his side, either by presents or by selling him jewels at half price; and the only remedy left seems to be to petition the King. Fortunately the latter is at present much displeased with Muizz-ul-Mulk, who has been accused by his successor of having injured the royal revenues by ruining some of the villages near

[1] Yule was puzzled by this term and could only suggest that a *round* rupee was meant, as distinguished from a square. This seems unlikely.

[2] Cuttack, the capital of Orissa.

[3] For a caustic account of Sadullah Khān's practice of delaying *farmāns* until he was sufficiently bribed, see Jan Tack's letters from Delhi in 1648 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xvi. no. 506).

Surat and by his injuries to the merchants of that port; whereupon orders were given to cut off all Muizz-ul-Mulk's 'munsoop' [*mansab*, i.e. offices], taking from him his government of Cambaya, and discarding him from the royal service. Is resolved to press the matter, but cannot rely on any assistance from Sadullah Khān, who has, it is believed, bought at low rates some of the goods in question. Hears also that the [Dutch?] 'comandore' has 'upon intreaty' written to 'Calele Ckawn' in support of Mīrzā Arab's complaints against Muizz-ul-Mulk. On his return to Agra Davidge will observe the instructions to send letters, &c., by the 'bazarre cossetts' [*see* p. 100], only using express messengers in cases of urgency; also the orders concerning the dispatch of caravans. Their directions have been forwarded to the Lucknow factors. Hopes to receive soon a remittance from Surat, his stock of money being now exhausted. Will answer from Agra about the debt mentioned, but believes it was settled by Knipe just before his departure. As regards the indigo investment, he learns that nearly 100 bales have been provided at Biāna, and that from Hindaun may be expected about 60 'for our share'. Has written to Andrews and Rawdon, warning them on no account to exceed 45 rupees per maund, and not to go as high as that unless the Dutch make the price. Has notified the Prince's Dīwān of the departure of the *Falcon* for 'Larrebunder', and he seemed very well pleased to hear of it. All the caravans are dispeeded 'Seroy waye' [*see* p. 157], as he has heard nothing to lead him to adopt a different course. If desired, a small caravan might be sent by the Burhānpur route; but he fears that the *farmān* will meet with far more opposition in that direction than in the other. At the close of the indigo investment Rawdon will be sent back to Lucknow; in the meantime he has been very useful at Hindaun. The Arab horse was sold for 400 rupees, but returned again. The accounts will show the profit made on broadcloth, which will countervail the expense of the charges incurred in presents, &c. Most of the cloth was sold 'into the King's dullbarre [1],' as Davidge feared to make bad debts if he disposed of it to private customers. The amount due from the King will doubtless be paid very shortly. The quantity of cloth

[1] *Darbar* can hardly be intended. Probably it is a slip for 'sarkār', which is often used in this sense in the previous volumes.

here available in the hands of Persian and Armenian merchants has brought down the price considerably; the latter offered theirs to the King at low rates and, although Davidge defeated this manœuvre, it has cost him a good deal in presents to the royal officials. Comments on the news received from Surat. As soon as he hears from Lucknow, he will advise what goods are likely to be available. In the meantime the saltpetre business is 'sett on worke' and a good quantity is hoped for. Has not yet found time to solicit Jafar Khān for a fresh *parwāna*; and Rājā Chhatarsāl's debt remains on the same footing as described in his last letter. A *parwāna* has been received from the Prince's Dīwān for the restoration of the *rāhdarīs* exacted at 'Lavally[1];' this will be sent down shortly, and if it proves effectual the Company will derive much benefit. The Dutch gunners here have of late been quiet; Davidge does not intend to converse with them (though they wish it), because persons of their condition are apt to 'scandalize all companey they come in'. Has deferred closing this letter for a day or two, in the hope of being able to add somewhat satisfactory concerning Muizz-ul-Mulk's debt. Yesterday Davidge presented a petition to the King, detailing his abuses; whereupon his Majesty seemed much displeased with Muizz-ul-Mulk, and ordered the matter to be thoroughly investigated by 'Fozzell Ckawn [Fazl Khān], the Kings steward'. Hopes therefore for an early settlement, unless this is delayed by the absence of the King, who started to-day to hunt at a place twelve *kos* off. Is anxious to finish the business before leaving Court, as it 'will serve for example' to all future Governors; and now that it is out of Sadullah Khān's hands, a speedy conclusion may be expected. Encloses a letter from Lucknow, expressing hopes that, in view of the favourable attitude of 'their new Fouzdarre', the *farmāns* and *nishāns* lately sent will prove effectual. The factors at Hindaun report that the merchants stand out stiffly about the price of their indigo; so that possibly none may be procurable except from Biāna and perhaps 'Corjah' [*see* p. 56]. Forwards, as desired, a statement of the Company's 'quicke stocke', made up as completely as is possible at this distance from Agra. (4 *pp.*)

[1] Lawālī, 10 miles east of Lālsot, in Jaipur State.

James Bridgman at Balasore to his Brother-in-law, Francis Barker, in London, December 15, 1650 (*Home Series, Miscellaneous*, vol. xxix. f. 38).

Arrived in India after a long and troublesome voyage. Missed his brother William, who had gone to Bantam. Delivered Barker's letter to John Gurney, in which mention was made of a pair of silk stockings intended for him ; could find none, so bought a pair and presented them in Barker's name. Has sold none of his goods since reaching this place, being wholly engrossed in lading the *Lioness* for England. 'John Gurney hath married the Agents[1] daughter, a pretty girle of the age of eight yeares.' Is sorry he cannot make Barker any immediate return of his 'large adventure', but if he needs any money he may demand it of Mrs. Bridgman. Wishes he could have Barker's company here and advises him to come out 'in a way of freedome, which you may easily doe, giving the master of the shippe a small gratuity for your outward bound passage'. Is well able to help him, for he is now 'cheife for the Company of all the factors in Bengall'. Has written to Mrs. Bridgman to come out, and begs Barker to assist her in this; also to see all Bridgman's affairs at home fairly settled before they sail. (*Copy. 1 p.*)

The Same, aboard the *Lioness* [at Balasore], to the Company, December 15, 1650 (*O.C.* 2188[2]).

The ship being about to depart, he thinks it necessary to give his opinion as to the prospects of trade here. Raw silk is better and cheaper than formerly, as the Hūglī invoice will show; but it is desirable to buy in February or March, when the price is only 85 or 90 rupees per maund, at which rate 200 or 300 bales might be procured. In shipping time silk is very scarce and dear. Saltpetre is plentiful, and costs at Patna only one rupee per maund, though customs and freight raise the price at Hūglī to $1\frac{3}{4}$ rupees. That bought here for the *Lioness* cost about $2\frac{5}{8}$ rupees per maund; and besides this, when buying at port, they are obliged to take any trash they can get, at whatever price the seller demands. Sugar can be bought in February or March for $7\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 rupees the bale, but in the monsoon time costs 11 or 12. Thus in all things about

[1] Greenhill. For his domestic arrangements see p. 76 of the last volume.

[2] A copy will be found among the *O.C. Duplicates*.

50 per cent. could be saved if they had a stock of money beforehand; while borrowing entails a cost for interest of three per cent. per month. Plenty of dry ginger is brought from Patna, and fetches 2½ or 3 rupees per maund at Hūglī; the Dutch buy quantities for Europe. Sends a bale of Hūglī 'ginghames', but cannot much commend them. At Hūglī may be procured beeswax, long pepper, civet, rice, butter, oil, and wheat: all at about half the price of other places. Bengal will vend yearly 30 or 40 broadcloths, half of them red and the rest green, besides 100 pigs of lead (if private trade be prevented). Quicksilver, vermilion, and red lead are in no demand. A small vessel of 30 or 40 tons, with six or eight guns, would be very useful for carrying goods to Balasore and convoying other vessels. Presents must be given occasionally to the Prince and the Governors of the towns: so a few rarities of low price should be furnished for this purpose, such as globes, glasses, multiplying glasses, and four or five good substantial house clocks. (2 *pp.*)

List of the Company's Servants in the Surat Presidency, December 19, 1650 (*O.C.* 2189).

At Surat: Thomas Merry, President; Edward Pearce, Accountant; George Oxenden, General Purser; Anthony Clitherow, Warehouseman; Thomas Cook, Marine Factor ('at present a very sick man'); John Goodyear (very useful: and is this year to be underwriter to the Accountant); Henry Young, Secretary; William Lovell, second writer in the office; Anthony Daniel, John Lambton, and Edward Swinglehurst, writers in the office; John Anthony, surgeon; John Chambers, a 'boarder'; Andrew Bruce, servant to the President. *At Agra and Lucknow:* Richard Davidge, chief; William Jesson; John Burnell; John Swinnerton; Thomas Andrews; Verity Rawdon; Augustine Swallow ['Swally' *in MS.*]; and George Purchas. *At Ahmadābād:* Thomas Breton, chief; Anthony Smith; Charles Milward; Daniel Otgher; and Robert Masters. *At Broach:* Revett Walwyn. *At 'Scinda':* John Spiller, chief; Henry Gary; Nicholas Scrivener; Hopton Martin; and Edward Joscelyn (intended thither as soon as he can be sent). *In Persia:* John Lewis, chief; Thomas Best; Thomas Park; Matthew Andrews; and Robert Wycherley. *At Basra:* Daniel

Elder, chief; William Weale; and Christopher Oxenden.[1] *At Mokha:* Thomas Reynardson, chief; Nicholas Buckeridge; and Walter Gollofer. (1½ *pp.*)

CONSULTATION HELD IN SURAT BY THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL, DECEMBER 19, 1650 (*O.C.* 2190).

The Company's letter of April 2 is read, ordering the goods, houses, &c., of the Fourth Joint Stock to be valued and turned over to the United Joint Stock, on whose account all affairs are in future to be 'agitated and acted'. It is resolved to set to work here on the desired valuation at once, and to instruct the various factories to do the same. The goods now on their way from Agra and Lucknow will be appraised on receipt at current Surat prices; for subsequent purchases the cost price is to be taken, with the addition of interest and loss of exchange. The houses, plate, household stuff, &c., at the various factories to be valued at fair rates by certain factors named. Arrangements as to the transfer or otherwise of goods purchased at these places for the Fourth Joint Stock. At Surat all such goods will be turned over to the new Stock at cost price, plus expenses and interest. As regards English goods already sent to the factories on account of the Fourth Joint Stock, it is thought best to sell these on behalf of that Stock down to September 30 next, when any remains will be valued and turned over to the United Joint Stock. The six small vessels belonging to the Presidency will be employed, as directed, for the account of the new Stock. The *Assada Merchant*, belonging already to that Stock, has, it is true, been employed to Gombroon for the benefit of the Fourth Joint Stock; but this is more than counterbalanced by the amount lately spent on the *Falcon*, which will fit her up for six or seven years. The accounts of the new Stock at the various factories are to be balanced to September 30 next, in order that they may be sent hither in good time. Copies of this consultation to be sent to the subordinate stations. (4¾ *pp.*)

[1] He was the younger brother of George Oxenden, and had just come out in the *Love*. He died in 1659, and his tomb is still to be seen at Surat, standing side by side with that of his brother.

President Aaron Baker and Council at Bantam to the Adventurers in the Fourth Joint Stock, December 21, 1650 (*O.C.* 2192).

. . . Advise that Ascension be made the place of rendezvous for homeward-bound vessels, in lieu of St. Helena, which, 'being yearly all overrunne by the Dutch, affords little or noe refreshing for our shippes besides fish and brackish water', whereas the other abounds in 'sea tortoises'. . . . On March 11 the *Seaflower* arrived from the Coromandel coast; and five days later the pinnace *Mary* was dispatched thither with goods and money. . . . On July 11 the *Dove* came in from the same place. . . . On [ ] 12 she sailed on her return voyage to the Coast. . . . Intelligence has been received from thence of the arrival of the *Bonito* and the *Lioness*, with news of the overthrow of the Assada plantation. . . . (*Extracts only. The rest of the letter deals with affairs at Bantam, &c.*)

The President and Council at Surat to Humphrey Morse [at Goa], December 24, 1650 (*O.C.* 2193).

Have pointed out in two former letters the troubles likely to be occasioned by his recent seizures of Bījāpur shipping, though for these he has some justification in regard of the injuries he has received. No such excuse, however, could be made for his surprisal of a Malabar frigate having a pass from this factory, and they have already advised him to make restitution in order to prevent further mischief. This he has not done, with the result that yesterday the President was summoned by the Governor, who complained that the English deluded the 'Mallavars' by giving passes which really ordered the capture or destruction of their vessels. Such treatment of course is only to be applied to Malabar vessels unprovided with a pass, as they are taken to be robbers and are and have been most dangerous to the Company's shipping. The Governor further declared that, unless restitution be made, he must inform the King, who would doubtless be highly displeased with the English for disturbing the trade of his port, and would require the Company's servants to make satisfaction. They admonish Morse therefore to compensate without delay the masters or owners of any vessels he has surprised and to abstain from any

similar actions in the future. In case of non-compliance he will be held responsible for any loss resulting. (*Copy.* 1¾ *pp.*)

EDWARD LLOYD'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE SEIZURE OF KĀRWĀR FACTORY, '1649' [1650?] (*O.C.* 2158).

On January 13 last [1650?] 'Vitupasenai[2]', the Governor's brother, sent for Lloyd to his house in 'Siswar[3]'. On arriving there, Lloyd and his companion, Edward Adams, were surrounded by soldiers, who endeavoured to force them into a 'bullwark'; they resisted, but after receiving many 'bastanadoes' and some wounds, were overpowered, robbed, and imprisoned. About fifty soldiers were then sent to seize the factory; which was done without difficulty, no such treachery being expected, and Daniel Mason and others were brought prisoners likewise to 'Siswarre', a guard of soldiers being left at the factory. Lloyd sought an interview with the Governor, to learn why they had been thus treated, but his request was refused. He was told that the reason of his imprisonment was that four years' rent was due to the Governor, under agreement made with Agent John Farren and Council, amounting to 800 pagodas principal, with compound interest at 25 per cent., making nearly 1,500 pagodas in all: and further the Governor complained that Capt. Durson had given him no satisfaction for an adventure sent by him to Ormus of the value of 100 pagodas, for which 1,700 pagodas were claimed, reckoning cent. per cent. gains at Ormus and as much for the returns, with interest at 25 per cent. It was also alleged that the Governor sent thither a civet cat, which Capt. Durson presented to the Governor of Ormus, receiving in return a horse, which he sold for a good sum; the value of that horse was therefore claimed. Lloyd answered that 'the Governor his father Sabazroy, deceast, had made a contract with mee, in consideration wee had no trade since the agree-

[1] 'Factor for the Worshipfull William Curteen, Esq.' There is a second copy of this document among the *O.C. Duplicates*, sent home by the *Aleppo Merchant* in January, 1652 (see *O.C.* 2245). Lloyd himself had come to Surat from Goa in the *Eagle* in December, 1651 (*O.C.* 2254), no doubt bringing this document with him.

[2] 'Vitubasenay' in the duplicate.

[3] Shiveshvar, on the other side of the water from Kārwār. Fryer calls it 'Semissar', but this may be a printer's error for 'Sewissar'. There was a fort here, of which remains are still visible.

ment aforesaid, not to demaund any rent till such time as the Worshipfull William Curteens propper shipping arrived from England'; while as for the adventure to Ormus, the Governor's father had accepted from Hugh Gore 80 pagodas in full satisfaction. No notice, however, was taken of these allegations; the factory chests were broken open and everything was seized, including the papers. The latter were detained over six months, when, at Lloyd's earnest solicitation, some torn books were returned to him, of which only the cash and receipt books were of any use. During the whole term of his imprisonment he was not suffered to see the Governor, or write his mind, or communicate with the other prisoners. They were all barbarously used, and were allowed only an insufficient quantity of rice and water; while Lloyd himself was kept some days 'in the stockes and bilboes in a stinking dungeon amongst theifes and rogues in a most miserable manner'. These and other abuses were intended to force them to sign a declaration that 'the Company' owed great sums of money, in order to make their imprisonment appear justifiable; and to that end an account was framed showing them indebted for 2,000 pagodas. This document, which was written in 'the Moores language, which wee could not understand', they at last signed, after enduring 'famishment' for six months. Nevertheless, they were still kept in as rigorous a confinement as before, Lloyd himself being imprisoned 'in a turrett or garret standing upon four postes, open to all windes and weather'. The principal cause of the betrayal of the factory was Capt. Durson's going ashore at 'Merge' [*see* p. 306], where he was imprisoned for former abuses offered to the Governor of that place. Lloyd had warned him not to venture thither, but Durson persisted. The two Governors being friends, a plot was then hatched to seize the factory at Kārwār (it being supposed to hold great riches), 'under pretence of Dursons abuses.' This is a great dishonour to the English and is likely to be very detrimental to their trade in these parts. Their actual losses amount to 909 pagodas 12 fa[nams][1] on account of Courteen: 1,258 pagodas 13 fanams 24 b[azaruccos] belonging to Lloyd himself: 47 pagodas 18 fanams belonging to Durson, Mason, and Adams: 242 pagodas

[1] The account seems to be given in pagodas (*hūns*), fanams, and bazaruccos, reckoning 24 fanams to the pagoda.

belonging to Hugh Gore: total, about 2,458 pagodas. Also, two outstanding debts, estimated at 710 [7,100 *in duplicate*] and 900 pagodas respectively, 'More, a house demolished and broken downe to the ground. More, a pollmargerings fruit [1], being 700 palmeros.' *Signed by Lloyd, and attested on oath in the Portuguese court of justice at 'Rochall [2]' by Daniel Mason, Edward Adams, and Diego Pereira.* (*Copy.* $2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.*)

[1] The duplicate has: 'a pollmar gevinge fruite,' which seems to be the right reading. 'Pollmar' is the Port. *palmar*, a grove of palm-trees; cf. Gray's translation of the narrative of Pyrard de Laval (vol. ii. p. 28): 'there is also a great number of *palmero* or *orta*, like our orchards here, full of *cocos* trees planted close together.'

[2] Rachol, about 15 miles south-east of Goa.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 21, note 1. The volume referred to was sold at Sotheby's in May, 1914, with the rest of Mr. Hodgkin's collection.
,, 42, *l.* 20. The painter referred to was Philip Angel.
,, 97, *l.* 8. *For* Lovett *read* Lovell.

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